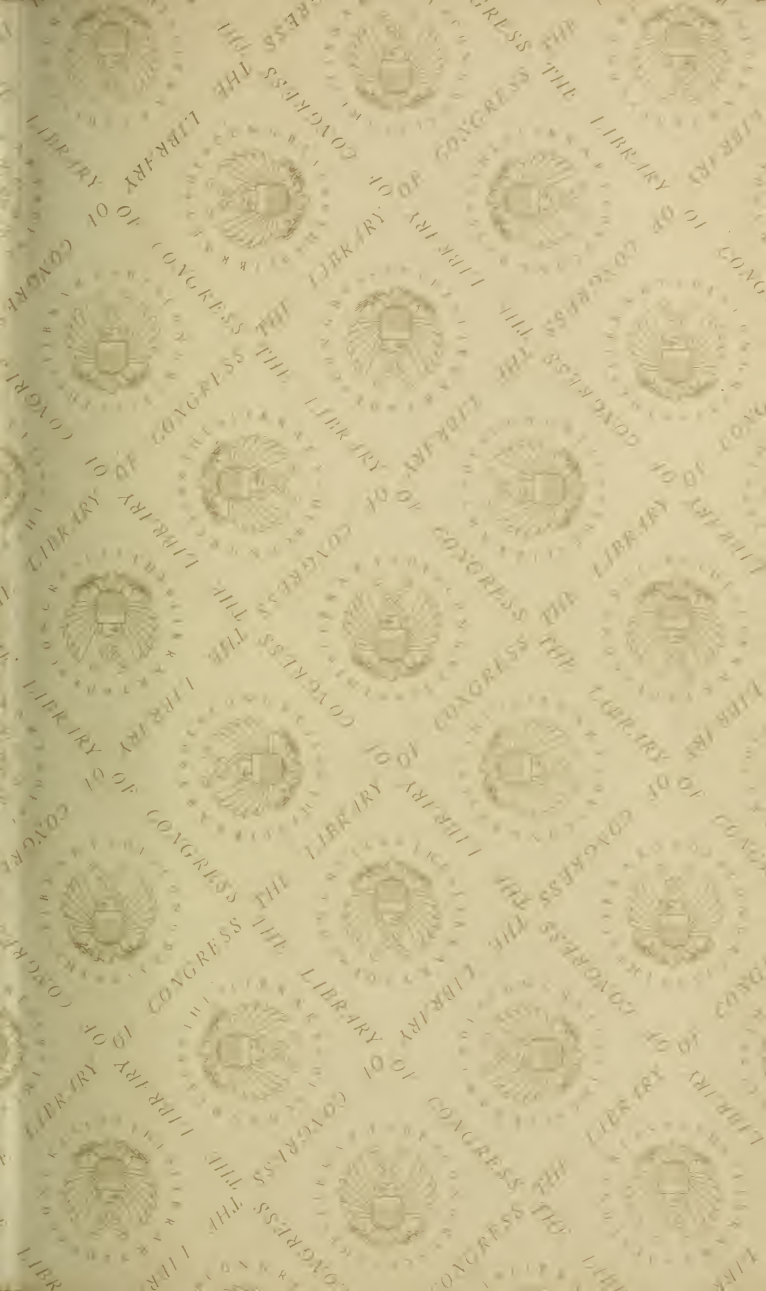


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Samuel Crocker.

OUR

NEXT REPUBLIC.

SAMUEL CROCKER.



PAIDWELL, KANSAS.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.

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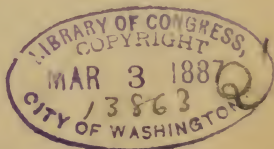
OUR

NEXT REPUBLIC.

BY

SAMUEL CROCKER.

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CALDWELL, KANSAS:

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.

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1887.

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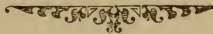
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DEDICATION.

IN grateful remembrance of my adopted country, the Republic of the United States, do I affectionately dedicate this book to the American people.

SAMUEL CROCKER.



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Chapter One.

ONLY IN NAME WHAT OUR GOVERNMENT
SHOULD LONG SINCE HAVE BEEN IN
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WHEN reduced to a thorough political analysis, we find that our present system of government remains only in name what it long since should have been made in fact and in principle. It will then be necessary to inquire at some length into this deceptive system before attempting to offer anything that may seem new or suitable with which to repair the breach discovered and exposed. Our present republic is a federation of States, it is true, bound together into one inseparable union by the Constitution, which emanates from the States, of this, our federal government, organized into three distinct agencies, called the Legislative, Judicial and Executive departments; yet it requires more than this mere form and imperfect system by which these important departments are organized, established,

endowed and put into active co-operation, to constitute a people's government in the broader sense and more full acceptance of the term. All national law emanates from the Legislative department, called the United States Congress, which is divided into a Senate and House of Representatives; the Senate branch of which is appointed by the various State Legislatures, and the Representative branch of which is elected by a portion of the legal voters of each Congressional district. Having shown how Congress is organized,—not by the people,—we will now examine the Judiciary. The constitutionality of our national law is subject to the final decision and supreme judgment of the Judicial department, called the Supreme Court of the United States, consisting of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices, created by the Senate—not the people. Our national law is subject to the execution of the Executive department, at the head of which presides the President of the United States, or Chief Magistrate of the nation, who is appointed to office every four years by the Electoral College, which is equal in number to all the United States Senators and Congressmen that each State is entitled to, during such election. This College, however, is elected by a portion of the legal voters of such States, resulting in majority, plurality, or minority, as the case

may be. It requires a majority of all the electors of said College to select a President, then the United States Congress elects—not the people. Having shown the unwise system by which the Legislative, Judicial, and Executive departments of our Federal government are organized, we forbear further criticism until the proper time and place affords the writer a special opportunity. Members of Congress, however, are elected to the lower House for a term of two years, and are eligible to re-election. The United States Senators are appointed to office for the term of six years, and are eligible to re-appointment. The members of the Supreme Court are appointed for life, or during good behavior. The President of the United States is appointed for a term of four years, and is eligible to re-appointment. Let us now inquire into the exact feature and true complexion of our Congress, and ascertain if possible the leading characteristic of this disguised body of law makers, who frame our national code, settle our national affairs, treaties and disputes with all the nations with whom we have friendly relations. As we proceed with the examination, we find the United States Senate largely composed of men identified with railroads, land grants, cattle ranches, national banks, oil wells, coal fields, gold and silver mines, patent rights, telegraphs, tele-

phones, trade, manufacture and transportation. No farmers, no wage-earners, no mechanics, or professionals, aside from the lawyer, yet from the latter classes proceed every dollar of wealth and every comfort of life enjoyed by man, belonging to the endless catalogue of art. Our trade, our commerce, our civilization, are mainly due to these classes of industry—art, science, and literature flourish by them. Then, why should they not help make the laws necessary for a more wholesome government? They toil, they dig, they delve; while Solomon arrayed in all his glory did not so much. This examination goes to show and expose, beyond doubt, the absolutely corrupt condition of the Senate branch of our Congress. The Senate, then, to say the least, has descended into an oligarchial aristocratic branch of Congress, more to be feared, hated and dreaded by the laboring classes than the deadly upas by the fated victim, since this supreme legislative branch represents the millionaire capitalists, wealthy tyrants and corporate monopolies of abused, robbed, outraged America. While such monstrosity of evil ought to be sufficient to utterly condemn its final and further existence, as a dangerous, monarchical appendage to a people's government; yet, this obnoxious feature seems perfectly tame in comparison with the power the Senate wields in national

law, national affairs and class legislation. Though largely in the minority, it controls the House of Representatives, slapping the people smack in the face whenever personal aggrandizement prompts the action. Although an appointed minority, the Senate dictates to the majority with that becoming grace that would put to shame the most despotic system ever invented by the intriguing genius of savage man's wildest dream for absolute power—in a nation, too, where, unless minority is made the extreme exception and majority the rule, must fade into oblivion each and every proud, independent, representative feature of popular government. Numerous are the instances when this branch of Congress has defeated legislation truly in the interest of a suffering people, and as often secured class legislation in the interest of vicious corporations, wholly obnoxious to the common people, and to which these very Senators were identified parties and dividend share-holders.

It is unnecessary to single out any one of them in this particular, since their names have become a by-word and reproach, their monstrous acts as odious as the leper to the laboring, wealth-producing masses of this unguarded republic. Nor is it necessary to make a special search to re-produce their acts to verify the truthfulness of the assertion, farther than to

quietly refer the reader to the forfeit land grant bills of the last (48th) session of Congress, under the Republican rule. The House, it will be remembered, reported bills favorable to the forfeiture of more than seventy million acres of unearned railroad lands, which were sent to the Senate for ratification, but, as would be naturally presumed, were smothered to death in the hands of the common enemy. What else could have been expected, since these very appointed Senators were partners to the steal? "O, consistency, thou art a jewel"—never found with such a body. Instance the Credit Mobilier "Union Pacific" railroad swindle, the mutilation Legal Tender Act—the cancer-eating "Bond" acts—the fraudulent, unconstitutional "National Banking" act—the robbing, value-shrinking "Contraction" act—the dishonest, sneaking "Bond Tax Exemption" act—the plundering, public domain "Railroad Land Grants"—the highwayman "Credit Strengthening" act—the disgraceful "Salary-Grab" act—and the piratic "Protective Tariff" acts, none of which could have been legally established without the concurrence of the United States Senate.

Behold, then, the unlimited influence of this supreme branch of Congress, wielding vastly more power than the House of Representatives; for, should the House pass a bill by two-

thirds majority, the usurping, despotic, un-democratic, un-republican, un-representative, anti-people's—un-American appointed Senate can defeat the bill becoming a law, however essential. No supreme legislation can ever bless the suffering people if obnoxious to this barbaric Senate and relic of the dark and feudal ages. However much the people may wish to amend their federal constitution, their wishes cannot be gratified without consent of this appointed Senate branch of Congress, unless favored by two-thirds of the Legislatures of the various States; and while this is true and disgusting, yet, this same appointed Senate "have the sole power to try all impeachments," confirm all the appointments of "ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law." Of right, under a people's government, such power as this would be unsafe in the hands of any branch of the federal government, aside from a supreme legislative body chosen under universal suffrage direct by the people on the true basis of proportionate legislative representation. But, to the contrary, the United States Senate is appointed by the various State legislatures, elected by a portion of the legal voters

of each Senatorial and Representative district of the respective States. The State assemblies which infuse life into the United States Senate, are by no means representative of the people, nor can they be such until legislative district lines are struck down and a uniform legislative basis established on the principle of a specific number of legal voters constituting proportionate legislative representation, which system we will more fully explain at greater length further on.

In the true sense of a people's government, we cannot view the United States Senate in any other light than a useless, worthless, foreign appendage to representative government, and, in consequence of all these bad features, it should no longer remain to menace the suffering people, impede legislative progress and reform, stultify a higher and nobler civilization, and hazard destruction by blotting out of existence every sacred vestige of popular government. Annul the Senate! Blot it from existence, that the people may govern by vesting supreme power in the hands of their Representatives. However incapable, disagreeable, dishonest, malfeasant and obnoxious a public servant of our federal government may be to the people and official departments, yet, unless the Senate chooses to try the misdemeanor, there is no way to get rid of that unfit

official, however guilty of crime against his government. That relates to the trial for impeachment, as the Senate sits only in judgment, "and shall have the sole power of impeachment." Should it remain longer a wonder, then, to the tax-paying people of this republic, why it is that so many dishonest officials escape punishment, when we take into consideration the power of the Senate to appoint them to office, and remove them at will? Let us inquire at still greater length into other hidden features of this corrupt Senate. Philosophy teaches that "a corrupt body cannot give birth to a pure offspring." Then the United States Senate cannot be of a higher political type than the parent of its existence; nor can the parent that gives birth to the Senate be of a higher type than its political predecessor. Then we might inquire: "Of what origin was the party predecessor?" And frankly answer: "Of no better origin than the society from whence it sprang into existence as a party." Then, if political philosophy be true, each party must produce its own scholars, orators, politicians, jurists and statesmen. In which event, we cannot hope to have a better, brighter, wiser or more pure specimen than the party. Society is either advancing or declining, and, as the case may be, must bring this necessary evil, called party, into existence.

“The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote.” (Constitution of the United States.) The next question of importance is: How are the State Legislatures organized? and, of what political complexion is that organization, that infuses life into the United States Senate?

The State Legislatures are organized by State Senators and State Representatives, on the following anti-republican plan, as instanced in Iowa and other States in 1876. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Iowa:—

SECTION 1. “That one Representative for every fourteen thousand one hundred inhabitants in each Representative district is hereby declared and constituted the ratio of apportionment.”

Senatorial apportionment act. Be it enacted, etc.:

SECTION 1. “That one Senator to forty thousand inhabitants, or fraction thereof, equal to one-half in each Senatorial district, is hereby constituted the ratio of apportionment.”

This ratio of apportionment is a bold fraud on its very face, and anti-republican in principle, un-American and anti-democratic. Instance these apportionments: “Jefferson county shall be the fourth district and entitled

to one representative." (Population 17,127.) While Union county, constituting the "fourteenth district," with only 8,827 population, was "entitled to one representative." "Warren county shall be the twenty-fifth district and entitled to one representative." (Population 18,528). While "Ringgold county, constituting the fifteenth district," with only 7,546 population, was "entitled to one representative," and so on through the entire list of districts, with but little exception. Here it will be plainly seen that unequal representation occurs, followed up with momentous fraud, calculated to take advantage of the people and cheat justice. Here are four districts, two of which are not equal in population to one, or the two greatest populated districts are equal to five of the lesser. Can these representatives, chosen by such an unequal proportion, be considered the people's representatives, in the true sense of the term? The wildest dreamer would not be so vague and inconsistent.

According to this apportionment, one can see at a glance how easy it would be to so arrange the State, controlled by two or more parties, as to defeat the wishes of the people and defraud justice. But this is not the main fault when we reflect upon the importance of popular government. The manner in which these representatives are elected has vastly

more to do with defeating the wishes of the people than the ill-proportion of district apportionment. We will presume, as is often the case, that there are three or more parties in the field with as many candidate representatives. We will also presume, as is often the case, that these parties are very nearly equal in number; say, for illustration, that, in the twenty-fifth district, where there are 18,528 population, the Republican party place a candidate before the people for the State Legislature; that the Democratic party place a candidate before said people; and, that the Greenback party place a candidate before said people. A. is the Republican candidate; B. is the Democratic candidate; and C. is the Greenback candidate. A., B. and C. are competitors for the office of State Representative, and whoever receives the most votes will be elected a member of the State Assembly of that State. Observe closely the race made by these three candidates, as the parties are almost equal in numbers, as there are 6,201 Republican population, or 1,240 legal voters on the ratio of one vote to every five of said population; 6,174 Democratic population, or 1,233 legal voters; 6,181 Greenback population, or 1,230 legal voters. Here it will be seen that A., the Republican candidate, is elected member of the State Legislature by 7 more votes than B., and by

only 10 more votes than C. A., then, is only a representative of a very small portion of the people of the twenty-fifth district, since he is elected by a trifle more than one-third of the legal votes cast. It is true, A. is called a representative, said to be elected by plurality, because there were three candidates in the field; yet, A. is not a representative of the people in the true sense, from the fact that he is chosen by the minority, as there were 3,783 legal voters in this district, of which number he only secured the votes of 1,240. Of the 18,528 population, A. represents but 6,201. Then, there are 12,375 of said population without any representation whatever, or 2,463 enfranchised citizens denied representation. The more we review, investigate and examine this evil monster, the more gigantic, devilish and hydra-headed does it seem when compared to the humane, useful, just, wise system, called popular government—truly representative in character, purely republican in form, and positively democratic in principle.

Chapter Two.

FEDERAL FALLACIES—EVILS OF THE LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT SYSTEM EXPOSED—SOULLESS SLAVERY—THE PEOPLE DO NOT ELECT—FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—WHY SLAVERY WAS SHOT TO DEATH.



LET us now carefully inquire into some of the strange influences brought to bear upon the innocent, unsuspecting people through the district legislative system, both national and state. Presuming that class legislation is desired to further private and corporate interest, which cannot be accomplished unless advantage is taken of the people: A certain United States Senator, who is known to be a willing tool of monopoly, can be had, if the State Legislature, which infuses life into the Senate branch of Congress, can be manipulated in the interest of oppressive monopolies and personal aggrandizement. National banking, railroad charters accompanied with land grants,

high protective tariff to aid and enrich the wealthy manufacturers, etc., is the object. Well, unless the designing individual, politician or corporate monopoly can control the State Legislature by controlling these so-called Representative districts, "where mice and men gang aft a'glee," there would be little or no use for such a system by the enemies of popular government.

Here it will be seen that designing individuals, crafty corporations, and pensive politicians can lavish money to good advantage to aid their ambitious, selfish schemes tending towards political power and personal aggrandizement. The newspaper is a great public educator, a subtle auxiliary for good or for evil, wielding a powerful influence in whatever direction the beacon light may guide the ship of state. The wily politician, glib-tongued orator and serene demagogue, are no less powerful, deceptive, artful, cunning and convincing. The paper, politician, orator and demagogue constituting the political stock in trade, are sought, sounded and secured—are as marketable and purchasable as the most common commodities of daily life. Every advantage is now taken of the common people that scheme and plot and libelous misrepresentation can accomplish and secure; while the iron-hearted politician eagerly grasps the last lost

chance at the closing scene with undue persuasion, and money, too, the free use of which, as if to purchase herds of swine, disgraces and degrades the manhood of the day. All branches of industry have mingled in this battle array, fighting each other night and day, yet, the interest of labor is identical. But, when divided into parties, arrayed one against the other, no better fate than sure defeat can be expected. The day is won, and the battle's lost to labor and reform. This is the ever-yielding fruit of the district system. All legislative districts are alike, since the manner in which Congressmen, State Senators, and Representatives differ not in process of election, farther than in States like Illinois where minority representation is adopted. The reader can now behold the utter uselessness of that pernicious system, called the legislative district, when popular government is the pride of an honest, liberty loving people. By this plan, the State Legislatures, which appoint the United States Senate, are largely composed of members whose election has been secured by the plentiful use of money from the iron hand of monopoly. How can the members of the State Legislatures be expected to be of better material than the monopolies and elements they represent? How can the United States Senate appointed by such a body be a whit better? How can the Supreme

Court, ambassadors, ministers, consuls, and public officers, who are confirmed by the United States Senate, be of a better character or element than the Senate agent of monopoly that infuses official life into them? These are important questions, and demand thorough investigation. Is it any wonder, then, when we go back to the days of slavery, we find the United States Senate ratifying the inhuman slave-whip, blood-hound, auction-block, and fugitive-slave law? Then, is it any greater wonder to find that the Supreme Court disgraced itself by rendering a decision "that the black man had no rights that the white man was bound to respect"—in the famous "Dred Scott" decision, since the said court was confirmed by the Senate agent of slavery? This same inquiry will reach the notorious land grants to railroad corporations and the supreme decision affecting settlers who were dispossessed of their western homes to favor these wealthy corporations. We might carry it into the national banking corporation, treasury of the United States, star-route case, Indian agencies, whisky frauds, exemption clause, contraction act, credit-strengthening act, bond acts, civil-rights act and decision, protective-tariff laws, demonetization acts, patent-right decisions, and ten thousand fraudulent laws and decisions. The fugitive-slave law and Dred Scott decision

would never have blackened and disgraced the otherwise bright pages of American history, only for this anti-republican legislative district system that aided slavery, aids monopoly, personal aggrandizement, frauds, malfeasance in office, unjust decisions, cheats justice, steals virtue, robs labor, enriches capital, and prevents popular government the full scope that a wise, sovereign nation of liberty-loving people should and must demand.

Having explained many of the objectionable features and evil results that arise from this dangerous system and barbaric Senate branch of Congress, agent of monopoly, mischief and injustice, so utterly obnoxious to popular government, we will now turn our attention to the House of Representatives of the United States Congress. This branch of Congress is almost, if not quite, as dangerous and destructive to liberty, law, justice and popular government, under the present method of organization, as the U. S. Senate, which, under the present system, makes Congress a detestable institution of legislative monstrosity, more to be feared by labor and dreaded by the common people, than the most despotic monarch that could be reared in its stead; for, when a republic becomes outraged, it is the worst form of government that can afflict, curse and persecute mankind, aside from vicious, destructive anarchy, in which in-

stance there is protection neither to property nor life.

Section 1, of the National Constitution, provides that, "All legislative power herein granted shall rest in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

Clause first provides that, "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States," etc.

Clause third provides that, "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers," etc.

Again: "The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative," etc.

But then, as the province of our discussion does not relate so much to the ratio as representative district, we will proceed with the exposure of the manner of electing members to the House of Congress. The House of Representatives, however, are the only federal officials connected with our national government who are elected by ballot, and this branch of Congress is chosen under the most unfavorable conditions, since they are elected by a very

small portion of the people and legal voters of the several Congressional districts they represent in the States of this Union. Let us go back to the days of slavery and examine into this very bad system and institution that not only afflicted the black man, but the white race also. Had we ever been blessed with a people's government, we should not have been cursed with human slavery so long as that ungodly institution made our nation a by-word and reproach among the nations of the earth—our symbol of liberty a flag of distress, cruelty and outrage. Our flag was proudly called "the banner of liberty" in a country that tolerated legalized slavery. Our republic, proudly called "a people's government," a portion of whom were chained down to servile labor, and the best half of the people disfranchised because of sex distinction; both remaining only in name what both long since should have been made in principle, the grandest and most glorious system under which mankind could possibly exist, enjoy and admire. The slave-holders of the South, under the apportionment and district system of national representation, were entitled to three-fifths more representation than the legal voters of the Northern free States. Because the constitution provided that :

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be

apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

Of course, "all other persons," meant the slaves. Slave owners, then, cast a ballot equal to three-fifths of the slave population of the South, entitled to a representation, under this infamous system, and, by so doing, they were a powerful factor in the affairs of government. Is it any wonder, then, that the South retained the slave system until it so enraged the nation that nothing but a bloody war could emancipate so vicious an institution, since by the district and apportionment system those engaged in human traffic could not be dispossessed or dislodged by other means than cruel warfare? Had the district and proportionate legislative representation been adopted, on the basis of so many votes as the basis of representation, then the institution of slavery would have died in the cradle of its infancy, because, if all parties for and against slavery had been so represented, no such legislation as the fugitive slave law could ever have been enacted—nor would the "Dred Scott" decision in conjunction with such infamy ever have stained the judicial ermine.

with human blood gushing from the distorted veins of bondage.

The North never was able to cope with the South, with such odds as this to overcome. What use had the South for party aside from the slave-holding party, since the district line representation lent no encouragement whatever to reform parties? Here the Southern States were divided into so many Congressional districts, where the slave population was about equal to the white. The blacks without representation, and the whites not only with representation but represented by three-fifths of the slave population, besides.

How could the North ever hope to cope with such power as this? Such a thing could not be and consequently never was successfully done.

We will review one Southern State under this miserable un-democratic system, and then compare all the other Southern States to the one under review. We will divide Alabama into six Congressional districts, each of which we will presume to have thirty thousand votes, fifteen thousand white and fifteen thousand black; that is, the slave-holding power were entitled to that many votes, under the three-fifths slave-vote rule. We will presume that there were then a Democratic party, a Whig party, and an Abolition party organized in the

South ; that in the State of Alabama each party put their candidates for Congress in the field ; that the Democrats were most numerous ; that the Whigs were less in number, and that the Abolitionists were largely in the minority ; that in the said State the Abolition party had thirty thousand legal votes ; that the Whig party had sixty thousand legal votes ; and, that the Democratic party had ninety thousand legal votes. The Abolition party was distributed over the State in such a manner that the party could not hope to elect a solitary Congressman. The Whig party was distributed in a like manner over the State, and the Democratic party also, further than being equal to the other two it controlled the election of every Congressional district, and by which means elected every member to Congress in sympathy with the perpetuation and extension of slavery.

To make this fraud more plain, we will presume that Congressional District No. 1, in said State, was about an average district ; that A. was the Democratic candidate for Congress ; that B. was the Whig candidate ; that C. was the Abolition candidate. A., B. and C. entered the campaign together in District 1. Each party thoroughly canvassed the said district up to election day. A. received 15,000 votes in said district ; B. received 10,000 votes in said district, and C. received 5,000 votes in said

district. Here it will be seen that A., the Democratic candidate, was elected to Congress by 5,000 more votes than B. and 10,000 more votes than C. The Whig and Abolition parties had as many votes as the Democratic party, but, owing to the district system had no representation whatever in Congress, as every district in the State was carried by the Democratic party in precisely the same manner, and every State in the South elected slave-trade Representatives to the United States Congress. And, what is characteristic of the Congressional district system, is also characteristic of the State Assembly system, made up of State Senatorial and State Representative districts heretofore explained and exposed on the point of infusing life into the United States Senate.

The slave-holder of the South not only pocketed the earnings of the slave, but used three-fifths of the slave power at the ballot box with which to prolong the system that bound the black race in chains of bondage, robbed the black race of all they earned, aside from a bare, mean subsistence, to enrich the arrogant, the selfish, the haughty slave power of the South.

Then is it any wonder that slavery existed so long as it did, or that Congress, composed of Senators and Representatives of so vicious and selfish a system, should enact the Fugitive Slave law? or that the Supreme Court, ap-

pointed to office by such a slave Congress as this, should have rendered the "Dred Scott" decision, "That the black man had no rights which the white man was bound to respect?" Do you not see now why it was necessary to shoot slavery out of existence, since it could not be reached by legislation under the district and three-fifths vote system? Had the legislative district lines been struck down and the basis vote system been established in its stead, all parties reaching said basis could have been represented in Congress, and slavery would have died in the cradle in its infancy without firing a single gun, shedding a drop of human blood, burning a single house or devastating the South by an armed force, leaving the maimed, the wounded, the crippled, the dying, the dead, grief and sorrow stricken, a legacy in the awful wake of cruel, barbaric warfare.

Returning to the Alabama election problem, portrayed in the preceding pages, to still further verify our prediction and prove the moral of philosophy, we will presume that the six Congressional districts of said State had been stricken down; that each party had been entitled to a Representative in the house of Congress for every thirty thousand votes of said party; that is, 30,000 legal votes would have constituted the basis of Congressional representation in the State instead of each district

of 30,000. Had such been the case, the Abolition party, with 30,000 votes distributed through the six Congressional districts of said State, would have been entitled to one member of Congress. The Whig party, with 60,000 votes so distributed, would have been entitled to two Congressmen, and the Democratic party, with 90,000 votes so distributed, would have been entitled to only three Congressmen, instead of six, and so on throughout the entire South, length and breadth of the Union. Congress thus composed of Representatives of all the political parties having reached such basis of representation, could never have sustained the miserable institution of negro slavery any length of time—would never have had to put it down by armed force, as there would have been encouragement to reform parties, which in time would have abolished slavery by legal enactment, and have paid every slave-holder the full value of every slave, at a great deal less cost, too, than the expenses attending our Emancipation war, to say nothing about the loss of limb, health, and valuable property and lives, in consequence of war.

But then, under the old and present district system, reform parties have and will continue to come into existence, animated by pure motives and grand principles, linger a while, and die finally for want of representation.

Chapter Three.

THE CHARTER AGE OF CORPORATE MONOPOLY
—IMPERFECT APPORTIONMENT—THE CON-
GRESSIONAL DISTRICT—HOW CONVEN-
TIONS ARE MANIPULATED—COM-
PLEXION OF CONGRESS.



HAVING reviewed the slave age of America at considerable length under this pernicious, anti-republican system, we will now turn our attention to the same system that has afflicted our nation in ten thousand ways, and rendered popular government a mere mockery, previous to

and since firing the last gun of black bondage in the United States of America. The last quarter of a century may be well termed,

THE CHARTER AGE OF CORPORATE MONOPOLY,

beginning as far back as 1861, since which time railroad charters and land grants to railroad companies have been granted without number,

covering a gift of something like 300,000,000 acres of government land, subsidies in money, and taxes voted upon the people in many States besides. Then the chartering of the National bank to wealthy bond-holders, is another means of extortion, hardly without a parallel in history. Also, telegraph, telephone lines, &c., to such an extent that the lack of space forbids further mention.

Then in connection with chartered privileges, class laws have followed in quick succession, until individual security remains almost without protection.

Starting with the mutilation legal tender act, that robbed the burdened taxpayers of untold millions, soldiers of their pay, and gave it over to the capitalists; then the bond-tax exemption clause, that permitted the wealthy bond-holders to vote for the most extravagant system of government, educate their children at the expense of their poor neighbors, enjoy all the benefits of government without being taxed like other legal citizens. Then the National banking act, that permitted the bond-ocracy of America to draw full interest on their bonds, escape taxation, receive ninety per cent value of the bonds in national bank currency from the government, and loan to the people this vast sum at ruinously high interest, bankrupt and cheat their depositors out of sums beyond

measure, and receive interest on currency and bonds beyond calculation, is another institution of this peculiar age, that would not exist under a people's government twelve months.

The contraction act of 1866, which in less than three years after caused nearly 1,350,000,000 dollars of the circulating medium of the country to be converted into non-taxable interest bearing bonds, producing shrinkage in value to all kinds of property and widespread ruin to all classes except the monied lords, is another species of statesmanship of this very peculiar age.

The credit-strengthening act of March, 1869, which made nearly two and a half billion dollars of the public debt payable in coin that by original contract was made payable in lawful money, and that, too, at a time when coin bore a premium of $32\frac{1}{2}c$ on the dollar, increasing the public debt burden to the tax payers in a sum reaching beyond 600,000,000 dollars, every dollar of which was filched from honest industry and given to the monied aristocracy of this charter age.

The demonetizing silver act then followed, which prevented the government paying interest due on the bonds in anything but gold, which was at quite a premium. The "salary-grab" act came next as a surprise to the people. The resumption act of January, 1875,

which provided for the total and absolute destruction of the \$346,000,000 of outstanding treasury notes, came soon after to favor the capitalists, bond-holders and National bankers; but this proved a step too bold and too far for the outraged people to further endure, so after a general hue and cry went up all over the country for its "immediate repeal," Congress became alarmed and repealed this monstrous act, May, 1878, just in time to save the people from bankruptcy and ruin, and our nation from the terrible shock of anarchy and the agonizing throes of national death.

The re-chartering of the National bank followed soon after, and is a kind of Siamese twin to this charter age of corporate monopoly.

High tariff acts were of frequent occurrence, until this protective fraud grew so large as to swallow itself in the ever memorable year of 1884. As the Republican and Democratic parties were the only parties that existed for some time after the Emancipation war broke out, we will review that period of "single blessedness" peculiar to Republican success as a party holding sway, reigning supreme for a quarter of a century, undisturbed and undismayed. But, before criticising the charter age of corporate monopoly, it will be necessary to tabulate the apportionment system, which dates as far back as 1789, at which time Congress-

ional representation was based on thirty thousand population to the Congressional district. This, however, remained until March 4th, 1793, and subsequently every ten years thereafter, though uniform, varied greatly in apportionment, as will be noticed from the following table :—

Year.	Apportionment.	Votes.	Ratio of Population.
1793	33,000	6,600	1 to 5
1803	33,000	6,600	1 to 5
1813	35,000	7,000	1 to 5
1823	40,000	8,000	1 to 5
1833	47,000	8,140	1 to 5
1843	70,680	14,136	1 to 5
1853	93,423	18,684	1 to 5
1863	127,381	25,476	1 to 5
1873	131,425	26,285	1 to 5
1883	154,325	30,865	1 to 5

By this table of Congressional apportionment, the reader will fail not to observe how much more expensive national legislation is in one decade than in another. Compare, for instance, 1798 to 1853. Then compare 1843 to 1873. Then compare 1853 to 1883. There were three times as many tax-payers to the Congressional district in 1853 as in 1793. There were nearly twice as many tax-payers to the Congressional district in 1873 as in 1843 ; and, there were nearly two-fifths more tax-payers to the Congressional district in 1883 than in 1853. But, as this is not so much the province of our discussion as the evil consequence of Congressional districts, we will forbear further criticism, and proceed with the

manner of electing members to the lower House of Congress, as the laws they make are more to be feared than their official expense attending the people. As Iowa and Missouri probably furnish as good an illustration under the district system as any States in the Union, we will attempt the exposure of all other States by these two, as Iowa for years sent a solid Republican delegation to the United States Congress, and Missouri, as often a Democratic delegation. Iowa being governed by the Republicans, naturally enough they used every expedient to retain power and prevent other than Republican representation. For this, and divers other reasons, the Republican State Legislature so ingeniously districted and re-districted the State as to prevent the Democrats from electing even one Representative to the lower House of Congress for many years. The 9th Congressional district of this State had to be so peculiarly constructed in order to prevent the Democrats from electing a congressman, that it greatly resembled a boot on the congressional map, and was so nicknamed. It wound its way from the southwest corner of the State all the way around several counties, thence by Ft. Dodge, then running to the Minnesota line, thence west to Dakota, and on down the eastern bank of the Missouri river. The distance around this district was estima-

ted at nearly seven hundred miles ; and what is characteristic of the Iowa Republicans under this district system, is also characteristic of the Missouri Democrats ; and, in fact, all other States composing this Union. This brings us to the legislative district system, and in order that the reader may easily understand our criticism, and as easily discover the anti-republican form of government that curses instead of blesses America, we will suppose that all Congressional districts are under the same apportionment ratio of 150,005 population or 30,001 legal votes at the ratio of one vote to every five of said population ; that the said nine Congressional districts of Iowa, during the decade of their existence, contained 750,015 Republican population, or 150,003 legal voters ; that the same districts during the same time contained 600,030 Democratic population or 120,006 legal voters ; that the State during said period had 1,350,045 men, women and children, who, when reduced to the ratio of one legal voter to every five of said population, gave Iowa a total vote of 270,009. Each one of these nine Congressional districts were composed of a certain number of counties. The chairman of the Congressional committee of each district calls the Congressional convention to meet at a certain place and time, and there and then, place in nomination, a reliable,

thorough, staunch Republican candidate for member of Congress. The counties cheerfully respond to the said call, and the delegates meet in compliance with the same, organize an informal convention with chairman and secretary—a committee on credentials is then appointed. While the committee is engaged in some back room, investigating the delegates' credentials, wily politicians are "making slates," as they term it—are sounding the delegates in the informal convention, preparatory to "packing" the regular convention, which is a term used to express the underhanded scheme of uniting one class of delegates against another.

The skillful taking advantage of the country delegate, so that the capitalists may be sure of securing their tool unsuspected; "wire-pulling" and "log-rolling," as they term it, goes on, and soon there are enough delegates secured to place in nomination, on the spur of the moment, the pliant tool of monopoly and sure friend of capital. The committee on credentials is, however, ready to report. The report is made, accepted, and committee discharged from further duty. The accredited delegates take their seats in regular order, and appoint a committee on permanent organization. The committee soon reports as to the president and vice-president, who are accepted by one acclamatic yell. The informal chair-

man arises, and with a bow as polite and graceful as a country school-ma'm, welcomes the new speaker, who is then seated by a committee for said dignified occasion. The chairman then slowly arises to full height with the gavel of authority in hand, very politely thanks the convention for the "unsought honors conferred," and briefly states the object of the convention in well chosen words, then takes his seat amid perfect uproar and applause.

Quiet, however, is soon restored, and the speaker states that, "the next order of business will be to appoint a permanent secretary and tellers." The order of business is speedily complied with. The chair arises again, and in a dignified voice informs the convention that, "the next order of business will be to appoint a committee on resolutions and platform." The said committee is duly appointed, and retires to some back room to write, to wrangle, agree and disagree; while windy delegates empty themselves of pent-up, gastric eloquence. The committee on platform, however, are now ready to report. The report is made, accepted, and committee discharged. The platform glitters with sparkling generalities—is a verbiage of meaningless words and eulogistic nothingness. However, it is just the thing with which to catch gudgeons, and, in this respect admirably serves the purpose for which it was in-

tended ; so, one wild, acclamatic yell, and it is gulped down at one greedy swallow, becomes a fixed fact and product of great genius. It is public property now, and is heralded far and near by the subsidized press.

The newspaper man has commented upon the bright features of relief—it did not possess ; has complimented the statesman-like genius—nowhere to be found in it. Nomination is now in order by a convention well “packed” in the interest of a certain candidate, pledged to aid public improvement, national banking, railroad land grants and chartered monopolies.

The agent of monopoly has ingeniously secured a seat in the said convention. He is an attorney, and is the most quiet, unassuming one of the delegates. That’s he, that scholarly, dignified-looking, unassuming man, with gold spectacles and spotted soul. Watch his graceful movements, and notice how much he is at home and how familiar he is with convention work. “How affable and agreeable he seems,” says the alert reformer up in the gallery, to his friend, gently and hardly above a whisper. The dignified man with gold spectacles rises to full height and looks his very best, as he gazes with admiration and delight upon the lambs. He’s a fine-looking, gentlemanly-appearing personage, with a deep bass voice and commanding appearance ; just the man for the oc-

casion and supreme moment. He is present for a purpose, and knows who will be the nominee long before the name of the candidate is announced. Having riveted the attention of all the delegates with his graceful manner, he begins with: "Mr. Speaker, fellow citizens, and delegates of the convention. I rise for the pleasure and purpose of placing in nomination a man of wealth, character and ability. A man of sterling worth and fully in sympathy with the great business interests and public improvements of this great, grand, glorious republic. (Cheers.) A man who has been early identified with the Republican party, and all of its glorious achievements. (Cheer after cheer.) A man, who, if placed in nomination to-day by this august body of delegates and honorable representatives of one of the most illustrious parties of advanced civilization that ever administered national affairs of the American people, will proudly win the battle and add new honors and laurels to the party of his and our early choice. (Prolonged cheers.) A man of the people, with the people, and for the people, and that is the Hon. C. M. Cheatem, president of the first national bank of B——." Cheer after cheer rings out upon the street, foretelling the coming candidate of the convention and monopoly. So, one of the "bosses" and agents of corporate monopoly, springs to

his feet, losing no time to take advantage of the auspicious moment, shouts at the top of his voice: "Mr. Speaker! Mr. Speaker!! I move you, sir, that, to expedite time and hasten the work of this convention at so late an hour, the rules be suspended, and that the Hon. Mr. Cheatem be declared the candidate for Congress by acclamation." "I second the motion!" is heard all over the hall. But as the uproar dies away, a nervous country delegate who is not so well acquainted with convention as farm work, slowly rises, timidly, half bent, and with tremulous voice stammers out: "Permit me to suggest the name of—" "No suggestions!" "Take your seat!" shout the party "bosses" from every side.

So the timid, untutored country delegate, who wished to place some honorable, intelligent farmer in nomination, is nonplussed, chagrined, and "downed" by the too familiar "gag-rule" of district conventions. So the timid country delegate nervously crouches to his seat, humiliated, flushed with excitement, crushed and cast down amid the sneers and jeers of the city politicians, while labor was cheated out of proper representation. And what is characteristic of the Republican party under the legislative district system of Iowa, is also characteristic of the Democratic party of Missouri, and of these and all other parties in

any state of the Union—and every other party that has or may ever have a political existence, until that time when the people, in their sovereign majesty and the dignity of labor, will stand such abuses and indignities no longer, but rise in one united mass and strike down every legislative district line and vestige of despotism that afflicts the people and renders popular government a mockery, a delusive snare and by-word among men.

The legislative district must be abolished—the State senate must be abolished—the United States senate must be abolished—the electoral college must be abolished—and every public servant applicable to and within reach of the ballot, must be elected to office by the people, by which means alone can popular government be restored to the people, that they may control the evil influences of threatening institutions chartered against the will and wishes of outraged industry. Do this, then the breeding spawn of monster monopoly will perish, where now, “God’s wild children of the desert,” pine, sicken and die.

We will now presume that the Democrats of Iowa went through the ridiculous farce of conventionality, putting in nomination for Congress in the same district, the Hon. C. U. Catchem, who is a prominent railroad attorney of wealth, sagacity, and influence. Charter

Monopoly Cheatem and Corporation Usury Catchem are the Republican and Democratic nominees for Congress in the first Congressional district ; and we will presume that every other district in the State has its Cheatem and Catchem running for Congress. A vigorous campaign is waged, but as there are only 13,334 legal Democratic voters against 16,667 Republican voters in each district, Democracy has little or no encouragement to elect a solitary member to Congress. Election day comes, with busy "bosses" at the polls, early and late. The day passes, and the Republicans and monopoly triumph in Iowa by electing and sending a solid delegation to Congress, while in Missouri, the Democracy have triumphed and sent a solid delegation to Congress under the same infamous system. Here it will be observed, that there were 600,030 Democratic population or 120,006 legal voters distributed throughout the State in such a manner as to prevent that party from any representation whatever. It will also be observed, that while the Republican party had but 750,015 population or 150,003 legal voters, it elected nine Congressmen. The legislature that districted and redistricted the State, ingeniously managed that part so well as to carry every solitary district, and the Democrats of Missouri did precisely the same thing, and so

will any other party under the district system, because it is nothing but a gigantic fraud in the hands of any and all parties.

Now if Congressional representation had been based on the vote of 30,001 of whatever party, instead of being that many votes to the district, then the Democratic party with its 120,006 votes distributed over the State and through the nine districts, would have been entitled to four Congressmen, while the Republican party with 150,003 votes so distributed, would only have been entitled to five Congressmen, instead of nine. The State would be represented by the same number of Congressmen, only four would be Democrats and five Republicans. Strike down and forever abolish legislative districts. Instead of one party having all the representation of a State, every party ought to have proportionate representation; and what would have been, and be good for Iowa, would have been, and be good for Missouri and every other State of the Union.

Had this been the case long ago, and in 1875, Congress would not have been disgraced with 99 lawyers and 189 bankers. Nor would the safety and security of our commercial affairs have received the terrible shock they did when that Congress of monopoly enacted the "free-banking and resumption act, of Jan. 14, 1875."

This notorious act provided for the total destruction of \$346,000,000 of the legal tender outstanding treasury notes, by converting them into non-taxable, interest-bearing bonds, and allowing the national banks the privilege of placing these bonds on deposit with the federal government, draw all the interest accruing on them, receive ninety per cent of the value of said bonds in national bank currency to loan to the people at high interest, and compel every man, woman and child to contribute to the interest arising on said bonds, also. This was a terrible outrage, and so incensed the masses that its speedy repeal was demanded and complied with May 31, 1878. But then, how could it be expected of a Congress so largely composed of lawyers and bankers to have given the country any better legislation than this? Now, if it had not been for the representative district system, these lawyers and bankers would never have been elected—could not have been, from the fact that neither individual nor corporation could have exerted any influence, as money could not be brought to bear on the basis vote system. No earthly influence could take advantage of it, and for this reason above all others, it has become popular.

Great natural principles seldom bless mankind. If he can associate himself with system-

atic tricks, deceptive schemes and influences, he seems to be perfectly at home, at ease, and in the height of his glory, no matter who or what the suffering. Personal aggrandizement seems uppermost in his craving, ambitious desires, whatever the sacrifice.

Noting the composition of the 43d Congress, we find that, according to a speech delivered by Moses W. Field, of Michigan, it was composed of the following professions, viz :—

1 land surveyor, 1 mechanic, 1 priest, 1 professor of latin, 1 doctor of laws, 1 barber, 1 mechanic, 3 millers, 6 lumbermen, 7 doctors, 13 manufacturers, 13 farmers, 14 merchants, 99 lawyers, 189 bankers, which includes stockholders in national banks. Total, 351. Then is it any wonder that we are living in the reign and terror of corporate monopoly, poverty and crime? Ought not this exhibit disgust every laboring man and lover of liberty, prosperity, and popular government? Get rid of your district system of misrepresentation, or you will exchange this poorly founded republic for a worse system of despotism than that across the waters, which has become so noted for tyranny, riches for the few, poverty for the many, despotism and exile for all. Can we exist as a nation of freemen under such a system any length of time? Will not the coming generations be born slaves to capital and mis-

fortune under such an anti-republican system as this? Can we afford longer to let this matter go unnoticed? Does it not demand the immediate attention and combined action of every so-called freeman—every patriot and humanitarian, politician and statesman? Nobility without a name and royalty without a place stands knocking loudly at the rickety door of Liberty for admission. Shall we continue this anti-republican system longer and admit them? Ten thousand times, no! Popular government is the only thing that can or will stay the tide. Let us have it at whatever sacrifice. We call upon the laboring masses to arm themselves with a wise ballot. Neither buy nor sell, borrow nor lend these precious weapons of political warfare; but down the legislative district system and trample it under foot as you would the poisonous adder. Damn it! traduce it! level it! and forever abolish it! It is anti-republican! It is anti-democratic! un-representative! un-American, and fraught with all the evil consequences of a bad, vicious system, tending towards centralization of power and sure enslavement of the laboring masses, both black and white, male and female. Get rid of it! It must go!

Chapter Four.

THE ·EVER MEMORABLE YEAR 1884—BUTLER,
BLAINE, CLEVELAND, ST. JOHN, AND
BELVA LOCKWOOD FOR PRESIDEN-
TIAL HONORS—PROPORTIONATE
LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTA-
TION NOT A NEW IDEA.



N briefly reviewing this wonderful campaign relating to the national issue by the two dominant parties, it will be well to note that the Democratic party made "tariff for revenue" the main issue, while the Republican party championed the cause of "protection to American industry," which virtually meant "manufacturing industry." Party lines were never more tightly drawn than during this partisan combat for Congress, official patronage and the presidency. Nor was there ever a more hotly contested or more exciting election of which we have history. A more hostile combat could not well exist again attended with less desperate results to life and property, which furnishes

the very best evidence of the capability of the people to maintain self-government. The Democratic party completely routed and dislodged the Republican party, electing Cleveland president by a majority of thirty electoral votes. Thus did the Democratic party triumph for the first time in twenty-four years.

Having said all we care to at present about the election of the president of the United States by the electoral college system and fraud, we will return to our former subject for the express purpose of criticising the Congressional district system, more fully portrayed elsewhere. The reader will observe that the State now under review contains 1,500,000 population, divided as follows: Anti-monopoly population, 150,000; Greenback population, 300,000; Republican population, 450,000; Democratic population, 600,000.

This State was divided into ten congressional districts, on the ratio of 150,000 population, or 30,000 votes.

Here it will be observed that the Democratic party, being a trifle the strongest, elected every Congressman in said State. There are ten Democratic Congressmen, representing a State with 1,500,000 population, while the actual Democratic population does not exceed 600,000.

Here it will be seen, at a glance, that there

are 900,000 population wholly without representation, owing to this corrupt district system. The Anti-monopoly party had 30,000 votes, so distributed through the ten districts of said State as to lose every possible chance for representation in the house of Congress. The Greenback party had 60,000 votes so distributed through the ten districts as to render that party helpless. The Republican party had 90,000 votes so distributed through the ten districts as to be of no avail whatever, and the Democratic party, by being privileged to district said State, so ingeniously managed the matter as to distribute 120,000 votes through said districts in a way to monopolize the entire representation of said State. Any other party would have done just exactly as the Democratic party did ; but then, look at the injustice of so outrageous a system—a system that denies 900,000 people representation in a State, and gives it all to 600,000 people.

And, what is characteristic of this State is also characteristic of every other State in the Union under like circumstances and conditions relating to the legislative district system.

The Anti-monopoly convention was held at Chicago, May 15, and put General Benjamin F. Butler, of Lowell, Mass., in nomination for the presidency of the United States. Then the National Greenback party ratified Butler's

nomination at Indianapolis, Ind., May 29. These two parties really combined, forming what might be called a "People's party." After this nomination was made, the Republican party met at Chicago, and placed James G. Blaine, of the State of Maine, in nomination for the presidency in the following month of June. The National Democratic convention soon followed, being held at Chicago, July following, at which time and place Grover Cleveland, of the State of New York, was placed in nomination for the presidency. Soon after this, however, St. John, of Kansas, was placed in nomination by the National Prohibition convention, and Mrs. Belva Lockwood, of Washington, D. C., was lastly put in nomination by the Woman Suffrage party.

Of course, each one of these parties was represented in nearly every State in the Union, with the exception of graceful, intellectual Belva, and each party was at perfect liberty to place a Congressional ticket in every Congressional district where said parties existed, but we do not know that either the Prohibition or Woman Suffrage parties did, nor does it matter whether such was the case or not, since there were as many as four other tickets in the field. All we wish to prove, is, that the more candidates there are running for Congress, the more people there are without representation,

and the more favorable this legislative district system becomes to monopoly.

So we will proceed with only four candidates in this, our last illustration, basing the vote of each district on 30,000, and confining the criticism to one State, with 1,500,000 population, or 300,000 legal electors, divided into ten congressional districts, although the congressional apportionment made by Congress for that year would exceed this a trifle, as the reader will observe by the apportionment table we have arranged on a preceding page, being 154,325 population, or 30,865 electors to the congressional district. But as it is not so much the province of our discussion to expose this varying apportionment, from decade to decade, as the environments with which the legislative district system is surrounded, we will forbear further criticism on this point, and proceed to organize the said State into ten congressional districts. We will presume that the Democratic, Republican, Greenback, and Anti-monopoly parties in said State are numerous and strong enough to put a full ticket into each of the ten congressional districts; that there are 150,000 Anti-monopoly population or 30,000 votes, in said State, distributed equally, giving 15,000 population to the district, or 300 votes. We will presume that there are 300,000 Greenback population in said State, or 60,000 votes

so distributed, giving to each district 30,000 population or 6,000 votes. We will presume that there are 450,000 Republican population in said State, or 90,000 votes so distributed, giving to each district 45,000 population or 9,000 votes. We will also presume that there are 600,000 Democratic population in said State, or 120,000 votes so distributed, giving to each district 60,000 population, or 12,000 votes. We will also presume that the said parties have each held their congressional conventions, similar to the one previously described.

We now have four candidates in each congressional district, each of whom is doing all he can to win the political race to Congress. Of course, none of these candidates would stand flat-footed, looking an innocent audience of enfranchised citizens squarely in the face, and utter an untruth knowingly, or attempt misrepresentation at the expense of truth; nor would any of these pure-minded candidates ever think of offering their city or parish minister a ten dollar bill to warp the gospel or prayer "jest a leetle" to favor an humble member on his road to Congress. Nor would these exemplary, smooth-tongued, finely-dressed, innocent gentlemen think of promising anybody a country post-office for voting for them, against his honest convictions. Nor would one of these tender-hearted, patriotic, country-

loving soldiers' best friend, ever think of using his influence against the pensioning of the brave boys in blue. No, no! Nor would any of these meek and lowly apostles of the dear people ever betray a single trust, take even a small bribe, or be so remiss to pledged duty as to aid monopoly if elected to Congress. No, no! "Monopoly must not take another step forward." Nor would one of these Christian gentlemen ever think of playing Catholic in any one neighborhood; Protestant in another; Infidel, Liberal or Spiritualist to influence votes. No, no; "too utterly too" conscientiously pious to ever think of going to Congress by any such duplicity as this. Nor would one of these paternal models and devoted husbands ever think to condescend to smile sweetly on some pretty blonde of doubtful reputation to influence the pal and pimp of soiled admiration. Certainly not! Nor would one of these models of society, pillars of the church, and great moral teachers, reformers and law-makers ever think of lending audience to the boxing match or prize-fight. No, no! "too utterly too" brutal for the average congressman (John Morrissey and the like). Nor would one of these refined, honorable, sedate, high-minded, "honor-bright" politicians ever think of dangling a dirty, cross-eyed child on his lap to sweetly imprint such a real earnest kiss of pure admir-

ation on the soiled cheek of infancy, with: "Oh, dear! What a pretty, sweet, innocent, smart, bright-eyed little creature you have," to ever think of gaining influence at the ballot box through the loving mother. No, no! Politicians never think or even dream of such deception as this. Nor would these great moral statesmen ever think of engaging in the debauch of a drunken orgie at some low brothel, hell-dive or saloon, to influence the fallen, depraved loafer, drunkard and thief to vote for them. Oh, no! Human nature is not so frail and so weak as this.

The campaign opened in full blast, with an Anti-monopoly, Greenback, Republican and Democratic candidate for Congress in the field. It was a Presidential campaign also, with five Presidential candidates in the field, each of whom was represented by as many electors of the electoral college as there were Congressmen and United States Senators, which college equaled in number two Senators for each State, and whatever number of Congressmen each State was entitled to under this miserable apportionment system. The campaign was one of the most diversified and exciting campaigns that ever grew out of one ceaseless combination of complications ever witnessed in the history of American politics.

The great corporations had their secret

agents everywhere, placing money where it would do the most good. The agents of monster monopolies were everywhere, of every political shade, stripe, color and party. These chartered institutions began to feel the power about to be brought against them, and they were well equipped for the occasion. Their actions and influence went greatly towards strengthening an assertion once made by the railroad king, Jay Gould, who, when interrogated by a committee of inquiry into this fraudulent system, replied: "I was a Democrat in a Democratic district, a Republican in a Republican district, Independent in an Independent district; but, first, last and all the time an 'Erie man.'" Yes, the Erie men were to be found everywhere, of every political shade, where their money and influence could be brought to bear to the best advantage for corporate monopoly.

The newspaper was sought, the politician was sought, the demagogue was sought, the minister was sought, the lay member was sought, Christian, Infidel, Liberal, Spiritualist. The newspaper winged its flight, with quaint cartoon, like some ancient bird of omen, bad or good, to every home. The wily politician was in possession of the healing balm, and for cash could apply the remedy. The doubtful demagogue at home, was imported abroad to

harangue, excite and lead the people. The influence of every minister and church was brought to bear. The unbridled press of Liberty invaded even the sacred home, and rode rough-shod o'er decency, trampling both truth and private character, alike regardless under foot. Private and indecent attacks, libelous publications and attempt at misrepresentation were of frequent and daily occurrence. Suits for libel were brought and suits for libel were withdrawn. The influence of church was brought to bear. One denomination was arrayed against another, while the gospel, sermon and prayer, were bent and warped to suit by priest and pastor, good and true. Sarcastic shots from polished orators, both fat and thick, and lean and long, sped quick and fast, and like the poisoned arrow sank deep by weight and length of deadly shaft.

Special trains were chartered and extra trains were run to convey the excited populace from place to place, hither and yon to march and counter-march at trumpet time and tune, gaily uniformed in colors bright, with badges of their leaders, too ; with banners flying high in air and transparencies quaint and queer, the mad masses vied and marched with blazing torch in country, town and city, too, where fiery rockets burst in mid air, and with liquid tongue chased each other through endless space as if

en route to kiss the very sky, painting country, town, city and vault of heaven red with glare.

Agog the nation stood in hate,
With love and fear.
T'was gala day and gala night,
Two months in fall of year;
The beacon light that guides aright
The "Ship-of-State," did not appear.

The field was lastly quit—the day drew nigh, and swarming sons of toil met early at the polls, as if a battle to win. There also met the ever-faithful, useful, tricky politician, and subtle, sly and artful agent of monopoly. Money plenty and whisky free, besotted man, who drank till crazed, and sold his vote too cheap and threw his birthright in. Marshals with U. S., bright and bold, stamped upon their breasts, swarmed around the polls and clutched with murderous hand the weapon of sure death. Innocent men were dragged off to jail, while thieves, thugs, villians and scoundrels, black with crime, with and without citizenship, voted and controlled the polls. The farce of popular government was again enacted by the district system, that monopoly might win her oft-won victory and triumph over labor with undisputed sway.

Here it will be observed that, under the new system of basing legislative representation on a certain number of votes, instead of basing the legislative district on a certain number,

each party would at all times and under all circumstances, have proportionate legislative representation. Congress would then be always composed of a representative body of supreme law-makers ; while under the district system, Congress never can become a representative body. Instance the State now under criticism. Here it will be seen that the Anti-monopoly party, with 3,000 votes in each of the ten districts, would have been entitled to one representative in Congress, had the district system been exchanged for the basis-vote system of congressional representation for every 30,000 votes of said party in said State.

The Greenback party, with 6,000 votes in each of the ten districts, would have been entitled to two congressmen ; the Republican party, with 9,000 votes in each of the ten districts, would have been entitled to three congressmen ; the Democratic party with 12,000 votes in each of the ten districts, would have been entitled to only four congressmen, instead of which, under the district system, that party elected ten congressmen. The State would have been represented in Congress by no less a number of congressmen.

Further than this, one would have been an Anti-monopolist ; two would have been Greenbackers ; three would have been Republicans, and four would have been Democrats—in all,

ten congressmen. Should these four Democrats offer a bad bill in Congress to become a law, the Anti-monopoly and Greenbaek congressmen could combine with the Republican members and defeat vicious, bad legislation; whereas, under the district system, there is no opportunity offered the people, as minority representation can never gain recognition. Besides this bright feature, no earthly power could be brought to bear against such an election, while under ^{the} the district system, every power imaginable and every trick possible, works evil.

The monopolist could not exert the least influence either by speech, press, politician, church, demagogue, persuasion, intimidation, tissue ballots, striped ballots, marshals, whisky or money. But, under the legislative district system, all these evil agencies are employed to aid and abet monopoly, assist personal ambition, and secure individual selfishness and personal aggrandizement.

Again, the most desirable element composing legislative bodies is the minority representation, as all reforms begin with minority. Again, as plurality representation seldom occurs under the district system, and always under the basis-vote system, then for so important representation as this the latter system becomes indispensable to national legislation.

Again, the absolute justice associated with proportionate legislative representation in all legislative bodies makes the basis-vote system all the more admirable and essential. Minority always was and always will be the true teacher of reform ; then why not encourage so valuable a teacher, that needed reform may bless the people and advance civilization? The reform party can more than hold its own in argument ; then why not place it on equal footing proportionately?

Under the district system, controlled by monopoly, the reform parties come into existence animated by pure motives and grand principles, linger awhile, and finally die out for want of representation. Parties are greatly like children, under the district system, some of which are born short-lived and others long. So long as a party advocates a good principle there is no good reason why it should not exist to benefit mankind. Get rid of the district system, that such parties may be encouraged to live and reform abuses. Of course, such advice is not acceptable to corporate monopolies, and selfish, arrogant capital, but will do admirably for the laboring masses to heed, advocate and practice. But as this basis-vote system would be positive proof against every species of fraud common to this fast and selfish age, for this reason it may be slow in process of

adoption, as the masses move slowly towards great reforms. This reform would privilege each elector to vote for all the congressmen his party was entitled to on the basis of 30,000 votes, or whatever that basis might be, while under the old district system the voter or elector votes for only one congressman.

Besides all these, and numerous other bright and essential features, no such thing as establishing popular government can ever be made real and effectual without first establishing proportionate legislative representation—a thing impossible without the basis-vote system. This is all we care now to say upon the subject of legislative representation in this chapter, but will analyze the system more thoroughly in the next chapter, in which we intend introducing diagram tickets, ballots, and the like, to practically illustrate the new method—or rather, old. Mirabeau, of France, advocated something similar to this about one hundred years ago, while there are some European governments with a similar system now in existence. Besides this, Cridge, of San Francisco, has written on something similar, and many other authors. The State of Illinois, through McDill, adopted minority representation for the General Assembly of said State, somewhat similar. But these references matter not, as we think we have said sufficient, at present,

upon the subject to convince any fair-minded person of the utter unfitness of the legislative district system, of the feasibility, fitness, and absolute necessity of adopting the legislative basis-vote system in its stead.



Chapter Five.

REFORM THE SUPREME COURT—ABOLISH
THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE—MAKE THE
PRESIDENT ELIGIBLE FOR ONLY ONE
TERM OF OFFICE—TAKE AWAY
THE VETO, APPOINTING AND
PARDONING POWER.



THE Supreme Court of the United States will next engage our attention, as the law-judging power of a nation is of too vast a consequence in point of supreme decision to slight. Our main objection to the Supreme Court is, however, the source of existence, time of service,

and partisan character, as will be plainly seen, when reviewing the political feature of the present Court, which is composed of nine judges or one chief justice and eight associate justices, one of said Court being of Democratic persuasion and eight of Republican. In our judgment, no judge should serve after reaching his 64th year, nor should any supreme judge be eligible to the Supreme Court judgeship

until having attained his 40th year. This would prevent incapacitating the Supreme Court with youthful inexperience, and the dotage of declining years, either or both of which could not do else than prove objectionable to supreme jurisprudence. The worst feature possible, presented by the Supreme Court, is that feature borrowed from the United States Senate, as the senate is an aristocratic body and senate agent of corporate monopoly, wholly unrepresentative, a foreign, useless, worthless, dangerous appendage to popular government, since it is an appointed supreme law-making power, with power also to confirm the Supreme Court. The Court then originates from a second-handed institution, not of the people, and antagonistic to popular government. No supreme judge should exceed an official period beyond a term of nine years on the supreme bench. No supreme judge ought to sit in judgment upon the supreme bench unless appointed to said high and important office by a national assembly of supreme legislators elected by the people, on the system of proportionate legislative representation, based upon a certain specified number of legal votes. Such an assembly ought to be elected for a term of three years, and sit in perpetual session, privileged to adjourn for two weeks at the close of every three months, and not longer than two days at

any other time. This is all we care to say about either the Supreme Court or National Assembly at present, as we expect to more fully criticise both in the next chapter, in consequence of which we dismiss them from further comment in this chapter.

The President of the United States, or Chief Executive, and the Electoral College, will next claim our attention. As the President is only appointed to office instead of being elected, we hold that, in point of popular government, the Electoral College cannot be viewed in any other light than a foreign, dangerous appendage. Let us now inquire into this electoral institution. According to the last congressional apportionment, March 4, the United States was entitled to 325 Congressmen. There were 38 States then in the Union, each of which being entitled to, or represented by, two United States Senators, equaled 76; by adding the Senators to the Congressmen, we have 401.

The second clause of article one provides that: "Each State shall appoint, in such a manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress; but no Senator or Representative or person holding an office of trust or profit, under the United States, shall be appointed an elector," etc.

Here it will be seen that the electoral college is composed of electors equal to the number of Senators and Congressmen of each State in the Union. Unless combinations are formed by national parties represented by presidential candidates, each party so represented places an electoral ticket in the field, made up from the States of the Union. Instance the last State under criticism, divided into ten congressional districts.

The Anti-monopoly and Greenback parties, with Butler for the presidential candidate, placed 12 electors on said ticket to be voted for, which represented a number equal to the two United States Senators and ten members of Congress to which said State was entitled. The Republican party, with Blaine for presidential candidate, placed 12 electors on the Blaine ticket. The Democratic party, with Cleveland for presidential candidate, placed 12 electors on the Cleveland ticket. In all, 36 electors on three different national tickets in one State.

One party waged political warfare against the other, and on election day presented a most disgraceful scene, as each party did its best to take advantage of the other. Black men of the southern States were frightened away from the polls, and in some instances killed outright for exercising the right of the

ballot, and not casting it to suit certain party "bosses." White men in the north were "spotted," knocked down by police, shot down by United States marshals, and were dragged off to jail for attempting to exercise the free ballot of an American citizen against the wishes of a dominant, corrupt party, which had long since descended into a spoils-hunting league. What a grand farce the free ballot system has finally got to be, under forms so far and foreign to popular government. The patronage of more than one hundred thousand federal offices is calculated to put considerable backbone into worthless old parties.

The election day finally passed, and the day for receiving election returns arrived. Frauds were reported and precincts were thrown out. However, we purpose confining our criticism to a specific State, chosen under review of the electoral college system, for the express purpose of illustrating the method of voting for electors instead of voting direct for the President, as many presume they do. There were three parties in the State referred to, two of which had combined on their presidential nominee and electors, the Butler electors being supported by the Anti-monopoly and Greenback parties, both of which had 90,000 votes in the said State. The Blaine electors were supported by the Republican party, which had

90,000 votes in said State. The Cleveland electors were supported by the Democratic party, with 120,000 votes in said State. Here it will be seen that the 12 Cleveland electors were elected, because, with three presidential candidates in the field, the Democrats, while largely in the minority, cast a larger vote than was cast for either of the other two candidates.

But, then, let us presume right here, that it was within the province of possibility to so have arranged and conducted the last presidential campaign, that Butler, with a very few electoral votes could have, and doubtless would have, been seated in the presidential chair instead of either Blaine or Cleveland. Butler doubtless saw through this whole scheme at the time he wrote his famous letter of acceptance and able campaign document, in which he urgently advocated fusion with one or the other of the old parties in such States where his party held the balance of power. Suppose the State of Michigan had elected the Butler-Cleveland fusion ticket, Butler then would have secured six electors. Suppose that all the other States had been about equally divided with Blaine and Cleveland on the electoral vote; that Blaine had secured 197 electors and Cleveland 198. Then suppose that an agreement had been made and a combination had been formed by the Cleveland and Butler, or

Blaine and Butler electors; the Butler electors agreeing to cast their vote for Hendricks or Logan as the case might be, providing that the Cleveland or Blaine electors would cast their vote for Butler. In either instance Butler would have been seated in the White House; and in either instance Hendricks or Logan would have been chosen Vice-President of the United States; while the federal offices and public patronage could have been divided with either party as an inducement to effect such a combination with whichever party saw fit to so take advantage of such a fraudulent system as the electoral college seems to be and certainly is. Why the founders of this republic ever instituted so mischievous an institution is more than the stretch of our imagination could ever perceive, or why the American people have permitted such a miserable institution to exist this long is as unanswerable as the real object and benefit of the United States Senate in a people's government.

Again, in case a presidential candidate fails to secure a majority of all the electors of said college, those having the greatest number of votes, not to exceed three candidates, go to the House of Representatives, where each State is entitled to one vote, a majority of which elects. Now let us turn back to the presidential campaign of 1824, just sixty years from the

time Jackson was defeated until the election of Cleveland occurred. In 1824, Jackson received 99 electoral votes, Adams received 84, and Clay received 37. Notwithstanding Jackson received 15 electoral votes more than John Quincy Adams, yet Adams was elected President by the House of Representatives. Will the reader be kind enough to point out the justice of such a system? If he cannot justify such a result, then will he not agree with the writer, that the electoral college is a very bad institution and foreign to popular government? There can be no good reason assigned for not immediately abolishing an institution fraught with so many evil and unjust consequences.

Again, when we review the presidential career of our republic, we find that, in many instances, presidents secured a majority of the electoral college and received a minority of the popular vote of the country at the same time. Tilden was defeated for the presidency in 1876, yet his electors received 250,935 more votes than did Hayes' electors. Such an appendage to popular government is a shame, outrage and disgrace to the American people, for such a thing would not be tolerated among the savages of Africa.

The President is intrusted with altogether too much power. The legislative power, veto power, appointing power and pardoning power,

of right, do not belong to the chief executive. No President of a republic can be safely intrusted with a power only calculated to be exercised by a national legislative assembly, chosen direct from the people; a power usurped by kings, queens, emperors, czars, potentates and despots. That the reader may more fully appreciate our meaning of vastly too much power in the hands of the chief magistrate, we will cite him to the abuse of power in Grant's administration of "let no guilty man escape"—reward. Grant not only abused his appointing power by appointing to office nearly every poor relative he had, but he vetoed nearly every bill offered by Congress for the relief of the people, pardoned out, let escape from justice and flee from punishment a dishonest host of whisky-revenue and Indian-agency thieves, until the names of Joice, McKee, Babcock, Belknap and the like, became by-words of reproach to his notoriously corrupt administration.

Nor, in the abuse of such power, is Grant's administration an exception to the rule, as this power has been more or less abused by nearly every President from Washington down to Arthur. The real duty incumbent upon the chief executive relates to the rigid enforcement of the laws of his country, in the complete fulfillment of which no time will be devoted to the

race-track, pleasure-trip, the card-table or sports of the usual kind indulged in by high officials. No executive should be intrusted with the second term of office. The Presidential term of office should be increased to six years, making the President ineligible for reelection to said office; then he would serve in the interest of the people instead of the interest of party.

It has been a custom of long standing to permit the chief magistrate to appoint to office the secretary of the treasury, the secretary of the interior, the secretary of war, and the secretary of state. This, however, is a great mistake, as these offices require to be filled by officials of peculiar skill and adaptability, the selection of which requires the very best of discretion not found in the individual and only found and safely to be trusted with the national assembly, as heretofore described.

The foreign ministries, United States marshals and revenue collectors are of a like character, peculiar adaptability and responsibility.

The mail precincts should be divided into post office districts, from each of which the people should elect the postmaster, instead of permitting the administration to appoint and remove said officials at will, regardless of the wishes and protests of the people. Were this done, each community would be permitted to

select, by ballot, the public servant of their choice. Communities would not then be imposed upon by unfit, disagreeable, disobliging public servants, as is too frequently the case under the appointing system that is daily growing so distasteful to the public, setting at naught and defiance every feature of popular government.

While writing this book, the United States Senate is hard at work against Reagan's interstate commerce bill; is opposing the forfeiture of railroad land grants; is favoring more legislation in the interest of railroads, land grants, national banking and the like, hoping to receive additional strength to carry out their nefarious schemes; and, while this Senate agent of monopoly is opposing every act of legislation in the interest of the people, the State Legislature of California has just appointed Leland Stanford, the bonanza railroad king of that State, who is worth between eighty and one hundred million dollars, United States Senator. Never in the history of this government was there a time when the United States Senate threatened the safety and security of the laboring masses as now, or called so loudly for nullification of the Senate, and the full and complete establishment of popular government.

Chapter Six.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE—THE BALLOT A SACRED
BIRTHRIGHT—ABOLISH THE SENATE—ANNUL
CONGRESS—A NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE
ASSEMBLY, AND MEN AND WOMEN
FOR LAW-MAKERS.



GOVERNMENT of the people, by the people, and for the people, purely representative in character, absolutely republican in form, and positively democratic in principle, combining all the elements of a representative democratic republic, "deriving strength from the consent of the governed," with supreme power vested in representatives elected by the people, in whose sovereign capacity remains alone the power of self-government, based purely upon the science of political philosophy that long since should have, but never has yet, blessed any of the nations of the earth, forms the broad and logical basis of popular government, to which reason and justice alone must be con-

fined. Universal suffrage, proportionate legislative representation, and choice of the supreme magistrate by the popular vote of the people, are leading, essential elements of such a system, forming and constituting attributes of popular sovereignty.

As political philosophy teaches that a correct conclusion cannot be attained from an incorrect premise, then the supreme verdict rendered from the very highest authority governing reason and logic of the science of government is, that the body politic cannot be free from political corruption without drawing its life-blood from the veins of the governed. Political philosophy also teaches that the best system of government can only emanate from the highest moral source; and the statistics of this and all other nations show that woman's moral character and condition by far exceeds the morals of man, in evidence of which the completion and still further perfection of popular government becomes impossible without guaranteeing to woman all the political rights guaranteed to man. Deny to woman these political rights, and you wantonly trample the science of political philosophy under foot, snatch from justice her brightest jewel, and rob government of her purest moral element with which to build. In view of these important facts in the true light of history, statistics

and political philosophy, may not woman with perfect security be invited to the theatre of State, to perform with man those difficult feats so poorly acted in the absence of her bright genius, benign influence, and purity of moral character in the civil drama, regarding obedience to the moral law and civil code as suitable guarantees to fitness and responsibility?

The ballot is of vastly more importance to the citizen than any other right enjoyed under civil authority. It is the sacred property, natural right, and holy birthright of every man and woman of sound mind and suitable age, a right that should not be forfeited or surrendered for a less offense than criminality. When once forfeited, that sacred privilege and human right should never again be restored by process of criminal restoration, by and through which penalty, no greater humiliation, shame or disgrace could attach itself to the disfranchised citizen, who would and ought to be shunned in society as the disgusting leper among men and women more fortunate and less criminal, more obedient to law and less obnoxious to society—justice could inflict no less a punishment for so high and holy a forfeiture. Such are the sacred attributes of the ballot guaranteed by popular government.

Political dependency would then be changed for independence. Both sexes would then be

put on trial to compete for true merit. Shake loose the chains that to-day bind woman a political slave among men, and she will stand proudly by his side the peer of power and dignity, mental and moral worth. Possessed of such power, composed of such noble qualities imparted alone by nature, she becomes the most formidable element of society and state. Sought on every hand, she wields a moral influence and civic power that ages ago should have been welcomed by a higher and nobler civilization.

Having arrived at that point of discussion where man and woman are alike eligible to the ballot and same office, we will now call popular government into existence, by organizing the legislative, judicial and executive departments. The legislative department is the most essential branch of government, and should be so uniformly composed and thoroughly representative in its organization as to be perfectly free from contaminating influences. Proportionate legislative representation is the only method imparting such virtue, based upon a certain, uniform number of legal votes. For sake of argument, we will base the legislative representation on 60,000. That is, for every 60,000 legal votes each and every party in existence would be entitled to a legislative representative, or two if a majority fraction over 60,000. Hav-

ing abolished the United States Senate, we will proceed to organize a National Assembly in place of Congress, and instead of calling our legislators Congressmen, we will call them Representatives. All legislative power should be vested in a National Legislative Assembly. That Legislative Assembly should be composed of Representatives, elected to office on the uniform basis of 60,000 legal votes or majority fraction over, of whatever party. The said members should be elected for a term of three years and sit in perpetual session, privileged to adjourn not longer than two weeks at a time, at the close of every three months, and not longer than two days at any other time. Each Representative should be compelled to vote yes or no on every bill brought before said Assembly, and said bill and vote should be published in a monthly record, furnished to every legal voter in the land. The National Legislative Assembly should have jurisdiction over all appointments, all pardons and impeachments; should have power to raise a revenue, an army and navy; declare war and make peace; make appropriations, contract alliance, settle all affairs domestic and foreign. All bills, motions, resolutions and the like should be adopted by majority vote.

To illustrate how perfectly natural, easy, simple, practical, feasible, just and essential

proportionate legislative representation is, we will herewith submit diagrams fully illustrating the ballot and manner of election under the new system of basing representation on a certain number of votes, say 60,000 men and women who are of sound mind and proper age, constituting enfranchised citizens. Our first diagram will relate to a national election by two parties. Our second diagram will relate to a national election by three parties. Our third diagram will relate to a national election by four parties; and our fourth diagram will relate to a national election by five parties. We will confine our illustrations to one State, or territory, for what can be accomplished in one State or territory can also be accomplished in every State in the Union and territory out of the Union.

Supposing that fractions may occur to any party, we will say that each party is entitled to a Representative for every 60,000 votes, and one additional for majority fraction over. Then there would be but little or no loss of votes to make the said basis-vote system an objection. By this we mean that a party, whether in a State or territory, may be represented in the National Legislative Assembly by a Representative, as soon as said party had attained sixty thousand votes. If said party had attained a majority fraction more than sixty thousand

votes, then said party would be entitled to two Representatives, as the ratio is based on 60,000. No party would be entitled to representation without having attained this uniform ratio in the various States and territories belonging to the United States government. But if two weak parties should combine and vote for the same candidate, then the two parties would occupy the same relation as one party and be entitled to the same representation.

The party ticket of each State or territory would contain the same number of candidates to be voted for that said State or territory was entitled to under proportionate legislative representation. For instance, a certain State has 350,000 legal votes; divide said number by 60,000 and you have five and a majority fraction. Said State, then, would be entitled to six Representatives in the National Assembly. Each party ticket or ballot would contain that number of candidates to be voted for, and, if said party cast no more than sixty thousand votes, candidate number one would then be elected. If a majority fraction more than sixty thousand, then candidates numbers one and two would be elected. If a majority fraction more than one hundred and twenty thousand, then candidates numbers 1, 2 and 3 would be elected. If a majority fraction more than one hundred and eighty thousand, then candidates

numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4 would be elected. If a majority fraction more than two hundred and forty thousand, then candidates numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 would be elected. If a majority fraction more than three hundred thousand, then candidates numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 would be elected to the National Legislative Assembly, as the vote is general, numerically, beginning with number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and so on. Candidate 1 being first elected, candidate 2 being second elected, candidate 3 being third elected, candidate 4 being fourth elected, candidate 5 being fifth elected, candidate 6 being sixth elected, and so on to the end of the list of representation to which each State and territory would be entitled on the ratio of 60,000, and one additional for the majority fraction over, which is any number exceeding thirty thousand on the ratio of sixty thousand votes.

Here it will be seen that, by this method, the elector votes for all the Representatives his or her party may elect to the National Assembly from each State and territory, while under the district system, the elector would be privileged to vote for but one.

As national legislation affects the interest of every person, the people so affected should be privileged to choose as many of said law-makers as possible ; hence the superior advantage of the new system over the old.

In case a Representative should die or be ineligible to office, then it would be necessary to have a successor to fill the unexpired term. The party to whom said deceased or ineligible Representative belonged, could let the defeated candidate standing highest numerically fill said vacancy without necessitating an election.

We will now organize a State under the proportionate legislative system, with corresponding illustrations. We will presume that in the State of Maryland there are a majority fraction over three hundred thousand legal votes, not very equally divided between the Democratic and Republican parties. The State would then be entitled to six Representatives. Each party would place six candidates for the National Legislative Assembly on its ticket or ballot, the campaign being made with these twelve candidates, six of whom will be elected. We will presume that the Democratic party makes the best canvass and secures the majority fraction. The election day is at hand, and the electors of each party must vote for their respective candidates. The Democratic party casts 215,000 votes and the Republican party 115,000. Here it will be seen that the Democrats elect four of the Representatives and the Republicans elect two, in the following manner as illustrated in diagrams A and B:—

DIAGRAM A.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
TICKET.

For National Assembly.

4	Holton, H. B.	1
3	McComas, L. E.	2
1	Davis, R. T.	3
2	Long, J. D.	4
5	Russell, W. A.	5
6	Hatch, H. H.	6

DIAGRAM B.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC
TICKET.

For National Assembly.

4	Covington, G. W.	1
2	Talbott, J. F. C.	2
5	Hoblizell, F. S.	3
3	Findley, J. V. L.	4
6	Cameron, J. F.	5
1	Brown, J. T.	6

Referring the reader to diagram A, it will be seen that Davis and Long are elected by the Republican party, while in diagram C, the Democratic party elect Brown, Talbott, Findley and Covington to the National Legislative Assembly. Davis, who was candidate number 3 on the Republican ticket, was changed to number 1; and Long, who was candidate number 4, was changed to number 2 by the elector who voted or cast said ballot. Referring to the Democratic ticket, it appears that the electors changed candidate number 6 to 1, left candidate number 2 unchanged, changed candidate number 4 to 3, candidate 1 to 4, candidate number 5 to 7, and number 3 to 5. This accounts for the election of 1 and 2 on the Republican ballot and for the election of 1, 2, 3 and 4, on the Democratic ballot; the Republican party having cast the majority fraction over 60,000, and the Democratic party having cast the majority fraction over 180,000. By

this system, no calculation can be made as to who will be elected, as the elector can change the number of any candidate agreeably to his or her wish. The right hand column of figures is printed on said ticket numerically, corresponding with the candidates. The left hand column is arranged by the elector, and is the only column tallied by the board of election. By this system the designing individual and corporation are shut clear out, cannot influence the election, defeat or secure the election or unfit legislators. Party strife, party worship and party rings are broken asunder. Reform parties are encouraged by representation. Better laws encourage the people. Minority, the great teacher of reform, has at last triumphed and is heard in the National Legislative Assembly. Labor is king by being at least made the true basis for political action. Popular government is regenerated, and a new era blesses mankind. The barbaric Senate is at last abolished. The people's Representatives are now the supreme law-makers of the land. Aristocratic minority no longer dictates to majority, blocks the wheels of progress, or robs labor to enrich capital.

Chapter Seven.

MODE OF ELECTION—DIAGRAM BALLOTS—LEGISLATORS NUMERICALLY ELECTED—EFFECT OF PROPORTIONATE LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION—THE WEAK MADE STRONG, MAN BETTER, WOMAN NO WORSE.



WE will now proceed to organize another State election under this system where there are three parties in the field. We will presume that in the State of California there are three hundred and fifty thousand legal voters, controlled by the Republican, Democratic and Anti-monopoly parties. Of said vote, we will presume there are more Republicans than Democrats, more Democrats than Anti-monopolists. By the ratio of sixty thousand votes, said State would be entitled to six representatives ; but, by being entitled to one representative for every sixty thousand votes, and additional representation for the majority fraction over sixty thousand, said State will gain one representa-

tive. Here it will be observed that in California, where the Republican party have 155,000 votes, the Democratic party 100,000, and the Anti-monopoly party 95,000, the representation of said State increases from six to seven representatives. A thing that would frequently occur, yet practicable, as each party would vote for more candidates than said party could elect, as will be shown in diagrams A, B and C:—

DIAGRAM A.

**NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
TICKET.**

For National Assembly.

4	Brown, S.....	1
5	Arthur, K.....	2
6	Emerson, J. H....	3
1	Edmonds, K.....	4
2	Cabeen, M.....	5
3	Roberts, C. F.....	6

DIAGRAM B.

**NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC
TICKET.**

For National Assembly.

1	Morton.....	1
6	Jones, J. R.....	2
5	Lane, J.....	3
4	Snow, E.....	4
3	Lawrence, M.....	5
2	Barnes, R.....	6

DIAGRAM C.

**NATIONAL ANTI-MONOPOLY
TICKET.**

For National Assembly.

1	Smith, J. B.....	1
2	Hendricks, E. H....	2
6	Clarke, D.....	3
4	Carlisle, M. J.....	4
3	Hatch, O. R.....	5
5	Post, C. C.....	6

By this system the representatives are elected numerically, beginning with number

one and following in regular order, consecutively; that is, number one on the left hand margin is elected before number two, and numbers one and two before three, and numbers one, two and three before number four, and so on to the end of the list. The numbers on the left hand margin are always placed opposite to the candidate by the elector. This allows each voter to choose by number the one desired as, first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth choice, and so on.

Having made this plain to the reader, we will now illustrate how Edmonds, Cabeen and Roberts, in diagram A, became elected. You see that, if the figures had not been changed by the elector, from 4 to 1, from 5 to 2, and from 6 to 3, 4, 5 and 6 would have been defeated, because said party only elects three out of the six, and those elected begin with number one on the left hand margin, said numbers being placed there by the elector, representing choice of candidate. So it was that Edmonds became first choice with the elector who voted said ticket, Cabeen second choice, and Roberts third; but, if numbers 4, 5 and 6 had remained unchanged, then the first three would have been elected. It will be noticed that in diagram B, number 1 remains unchanged, also 4, but, as the Democrats elected only two Representatives out of six, 1 and 2 on left hand

margin represent the first and second choice of the elector, Morton and Barnes. Morton remained unchanged, while Barnes was changed from 6 to 2, so it was that Morton and Barnes became the lucky candidates. In diagram C, the lucky members remain unchanged, as the Anti-monopoly party elected two Representatives, Smith and Hendricks. If they had elected three, Hatch would have been the choice, as he came next in succession corresponding with 1 and 2, but, as said party cast a majority fraction over sixty thousand, it could elect but two Representatives, Smith number 1, first choice, and Hendricks number 2, second choice. Here it will be seen that Smith and Hendricks were favorites with the electors who voted for them. Had they not been, then 1 and 2 would have been placed opposite to the ones first in choice. But as they were not, we take it for granted that Smith and Hendricks were the ones the Anti-monopoly party wished and worked for.

This brings us to the organization of another State, represented by four parties. For convenience sake, we will take the State of Michigan, supposing the Republican party to be the most numerous, Democratic party next in numbers, Greenback party next, and the Anti-monopoly party next to the Greenback party in population. Basing the legislative representa-

tion on 60,000 votes, and additional representation for a majority fraction over 60,000, we will presume there are 650,000 legal voters in said State; that of said number, there are 210,000 Republicans, 175,000 Democrats, 150,000 Greenbackers and 115,000 Anti-monopolists.

DIAGRAM A.

**NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
TICKET.**

For National Assembly.

11	Boutwell, C.....	1
9	Cadwell, R. C.....	2
10	Forbes, A. J.....	3
7	Maxwell, T.....	4
4	Buterworth, M....	5
3	Innis, R. W.....	6
5	Mortimer, J.....	7
6	Alexander, S.....	8
8	Francis, J. Q.....	9
2	Bushnell, C.....	10
1	Barber, A. R.....	11

DIAGRAM C.

**NATIONAL GREENBACK
TICKET.**

For National Assembly.

10	Rollins, S.....	1
3	Anderson, T.....	2
11	Robertson, W.....	3
4	Van Horn, W. A..	4
1	Yaples, A. J.....	5
8	Gosgrove, M.....	6
5	Heungerford, S....	7
9	Griswold, R. H....	8
7	Harding, L.....	9
6	Peters, O. J.....	10
2	Carter, D. E.....	11

DIAGRAM B.

**NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC
TICKET.**

For National Assembly.

4	Hall, S. R.....	1
5	Wright, I. N.....	2
1	Hughes, T.....	3
7	Thorne, J.....	4
10	Morish, T. A.....	5
2	Taylor, S.....	6
6	Dewy, A. J.....	7
8	Cronk, M. R.....	8
11	Passmore, T.....	9
3	Bucner, O. H.....	10
9	Marion, S. J.....	11

DIAGRAM D.

**NATIONAL ANTI-MONOPOLY
TICKET.**

For National Assembly.

6	Spencer, R.	1
3	Bisbie, S. H.....	2
9	Baldwin, A.....	3
5	Burkey, W. A.....	4
1	Heath, B. S.....	5
10	Lamb, R. J.....	6
2	Little, N. A.....	7
7	Longfellow, C.....	8
11	Walker, A.....	9
8	Cloud, D. H.....	10
4	Bartlett, M.....	11

This election will require four tickets, with eleven candidates on each ticket. Diagram A will represent the Republican party, diagram B will represent the Democratic party, diagram C will represent the Greenback party, and diagram D will represent the Anti-monopoly party. (For diagrams, see page 93.)

Diagram A shows that the Republicans, who cast 215,000 votes, elected Barber, Bushnell, Innis and Buterworth. Diagram B shows that the Democrats, who cast 170,000 votes, elected Hughes, Taylor and Bucner. Diagram C shows that the Greenback party cast 140,000 votes, and elected Yaples and Carter; while diagram D shows that the Anti-monopoly party cast 125,000 votes, and elected Heath and Taylor, making in all, eleven Representatives to the National Legislative Assembly; 4 Republicans, 3 Democrats, 2 Greenbackers and 2 Anti-monopolists. And, the moral of this system prevents the election of one solitary agent of monopoly; from the fact that neither newspaper, money nor trickery can control such a system, as the monopolist knows not where to expend his money or lay his wires to manipulate the election. The district system is gone, and the evil-doer and despoiler of our nation vanishes with it, while Representatives of reform parties have gained entrance to the National Legislative Assembly, to be heard

and respected, listened to and heeded, teaching reform and advancement, forming combinations, defeating bad legislation and securing good. No Congressional district, no oppression.

We will now proceed with our last illustration, exemplifying proportionate legislative representation, by organizing a campaign with five parties in the field, to illustrate how combinations can be formed and representation secured. We will presume that in the State of Massachusetts there are 700,000 men and women eligible to the ballot, who, on the ratio of one representative to every 60,000 votes, and one additional for the majority fraction over 60,000, would entitle said State to twelve Representatives in the National Legislative Assembly. We will presume there are 200,000 Republican votes, 175,000 Democratic, 115,000 Greenback, 55,000 Anti-monopoly, 115,000 Prohibition and 40,000 American. Here, you see, we have six parties, but, as there is little difference in the principles advocated by the Greenback and Anti-monopoly parties, these parties combine into one, or become known as the People's party, in order to secure one more Representative. The Greenback party has votes enough to elect two Representatives, but by combining with the Anti-monopoly party, the two parties by said combination secure

three Representatives. Had they not combined, then Massachusetts would have been represented by only eleven, instead of twelve Representatives. This however, would seldom occur, as such combinations would only be formed to secure as large a representation as possible by reform parties of similar character; hence, the feasibility of the system.

Diagram A represents the Republican party ballot; diagram B represents the Democratic ballot; diagram C represents the People's party ballot; diagram D represents the Prohibition party ballot, and diagram E represents the American party ballot.

DIAGRAM A.

REPUBLICAN.

12	Cameron, Mrs. O.	1
6	Cambden, J. A.	2
11	Call, Miss L.	3
3	Beck, John.	4
10	Blair, J. S.	5
1	Bayard, Mrs. C.	6
8	Gorman, Miss E.	7
2	Gibson, I. O.	8
4	Garland, Miss A.	9
9	Hawley, J. R.	10
5	Jackson, A. J.	11
7	Adams, Mrs. A. L.	12

DIAGRAM B.

DEMOCRATIC.

3	Jones, R. S.	1
8	Morey, Miss S.	2
5	Mitchell, O. H.	3
2	Morgan, Mrs. O.	4
12	Palmer, J. S.	5
1	Pugh, E. R.	6
10	Plumb, Mrs. S.	7
6	Eaton, John.	8
11	Ellis, Mrs. A. S.	9
4	Ellwood, Mrs. D.	10
7	Graves, R.	11
9	Greene, A. J.	12

DIAGRAM C.

PEOPLE'S.

1	Butler, B. F.....	1
3	Anthony, Miss S. B.	2
12	Talbott, Mrs. L. S.	3
8	Dibrell, J. S.....	4
10	Davis, O. T.....	5
7	Henderson, S. R...	6
9	Beach, Mrs. S. L...	7
6	Bayne, Miss C.....	8
11	Belford, T. J.....	9
5	Mansfield, Mrs. J..	10
4	Stowe, Mrs. H. B...	11
2	Stanton, Mrs. E. C.	12

DIAGRAM D.

PROHIBITION.

1	St. John, P.....	1
7	Cobb, J. Q.....	2
2	Curtin, Mrs. M....	3
9	Carlisle, Miss S. L.	4
5	Hardy, Mrs. S. E..	5
3	Hart, Mrs. M. A...	6
12	Foran, S. R.....	7
8	Fyan, T. S.....	8
4	Hancock, Miss D..	9
6	Brewer, A. L.....	10
10	Vance, O. J.....	11
11	Camron, N. M....	12

DIAGRAM E.

AMERICAN.

2	Goff, A. P.....	1
2	George, Miss L...	2
10	Blackburn, O. I...	3
1	Budd, Mrs. C. A...	4
11	Brumm, J. R.....	5
3	Clay, Mrs. O.....	6
4	Campbell, A. H...	7
5	Slater, B. J.....	8
9	Cupidy, Miss E....	9
8	Mahone, Mrs. S...	10
6	Cook, J. A.....	11
7	Hale, U. P.....	12

DIAGRAM F.

Blank Form of Ballot.

.....	1
.....	2
.....	3
.....	4
.....	5
.....	6
.....	7
.....	8
.....	9
.....	10
.....	11
.....	12

The Republican party, having cast 200,000 votes, were entitled to four representatives. Diagram A illustrates the manner in which the twelve candidates were voted for and elected. Candidates numbers one, two, three and four are the ones elected, however. That is, 1, 2, 3 and 4 on the left hand column, which, of course,

indicates the election of Mrs. C. Bayard, I. O. Gibson, John Beck and Mrs. A. Garland, as members to the National Assembly. The Democrats, having cast 175,000 votes, were entitled to three representatives. Diagram B illustrates the manner in which they were elected, showing that E. R. Pugh, Mrs. O. Morgan and R. S. Jones, being 1, 2, and 3, were duly elected members of the National Legislative Assembly. The People's party cast 170,000 votes, and were entitled to three representatives. Diagram C illustrates the manner in which they were elected, 1 remaining unchanged, 12 being changed to 2, and 2 being changed to 3, indicating the election of B. F. Butler, Mrs. E. C. Stanton and Miss S. B. Anthony, or candidates 1, 2, and 3. The Prohibition party, however, cast 115,000 votes, and were entitled to two representatives. Diagram D illustrates the manner in which they were elected, showing that P. St. John was placed at the head of the ticket, or candidate number 1, remaining unchanged, while candidate 3 was changed to 2, which, of course, indicates the election of P. St. John and Mrs. M. Curtin, being 1 and 2 in the left hand column. The American party, however, cast only 40,000 votes, which, of course, being less than the ratio of representation, prevented said party from electing. But had said party gained

20,000 more votes, Mrs. C. A. Budd would then have been elected member of the National Legislative Assembly. Diagram F simply illustrates the blank ticket or ballot. The candidates are printed on said ticket to correspond with 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 ; but the elector can change any of said numbers to whatever candidate he or she may wish. All votes are decided numerically, candidate 1 having preference over candidate number 2, and so on to the end of the candidates voted for as first, second, third, fourth and fifth choice, and so on. The five tickets, ballots, or diagrams fully illustrate five parties, each of which being entitled to twelve candidates, or representation to which said State was entitled, places sixty competitors for the National Legislative Assembly in the field, not one of which number can, by any possible means, tell who will be elected until the ballot is cast and counted up. This would prevent betting on such an election, and induce each party to put forward the very best and most able statesmen and law-makers of the land. Capital could no longer control our elections. Labor would be made the true basis for political action, and persons possessing true merit and real ability would be sought, voted for and elected to office. The subsidized press, wily politician, doubtful demagogue and scheming agent of

monopoly, would play their role no more. Good laws and a wholesome government would go far toward blessing the people. Man and woman would counsel together, peace, harmony, prosperity and plenty would reign supreme, where now discord, poverty, crime and oppression curse labor and the human race.

Presuming that our national election has been held in all the States and territories on this plan or system ; that the congress of the United States, divided into a senate and house of representatives, has been changed into a National Legislative Assembly, in which will assemble, say five hundred bright, intelligent men and women, representatives of all parties having attained sixty thousand votes, there to remain in perpetual session to deliberate well, cool and collectively upon necessary legislation.

Think of it, and of this grave responsibility. A National Legislative Assembly empowered to make all national laws ; make every appointment not provided for with the ballot ; impeach the guilty official and pardon the deserving ; settle all national affairs, both foreign and domestic. Think again of this grave responsibility, then compare the old system to the new ; the congress of to-day with the National Legislative Assembly of to-morrow. Think of the vexations, complications, and imperfections

arising out of the old system in ten thousand ways. Think of the short, heated, and excited session of congress, through which important legislation and appropriations are crowded, then compare such haste, indiscretion and imperfection to the sober, patient research and cool deliberation that such laws and appropriations ought to and doubtless would receive at the hands of the proper representatives under the new system in the National Legislative Assembly. Think of the limited power said congress possesses when it requires two thirds of the senate and house of representatives to enact a law not desired by the president, then compare said power, delay and defeat to the assembly in which is vested power to pass any law by majority. Think of the power vested in the senate composed of the agents of chartered monopolies, of the dangers to the country of these Leland Stanfords, Paynes, Fairs, Sawyers, Camerons, Browns, Bowens, Hills, Tabers, Millers, Plumbs, Shermans, Jones, Herkimers, and the like, that to-day crowd the United States senate and control every act of national legislation, and jurisprudence. Think of the influence of these wealthy millionaire corporation capitalists upon national legislation and supreme court decision. Think of the land grants, railroad charters, and national bank charters this aristocratic senate agent of monopoly has se-

cured. Think of the valuable legislation these millionaire senators have defeated when such legislation interfered with their individual interest, such as the house bills to forfeit more than seventy millions of acres of unearned railroad lands, the Reagan interstate commerce bill and the like. Think of the contaminating influence of such a senate with power to create the supreme court and benefit by said court's decisions, characteristic of the Joy land case and the like. Compare the legislation that would issue from an intelligent body of representatives in perpetual session in a National Legislative Assembly, where time, research, and cool deliberation would give origin to pure, just, and wholesome laws, unknown to congress, where the agents of monopoly and extortion assemble to crowd in a short, heated session such laws and appropriations characteristic of the past vicious system of monopoly and personal aggrandizement—crowded through in hot haste to escape the attention of an otherwise indignant, outraged public, setting at naught and defiance every feature of popular government.

Compare again the old system to the new, relating to proportionate legislative representation. In the south, the white and black population are about equal ; but, owing to the district system, the blacks are almost entirely without representation, because the local gov-

ernments are in the hands of the white population, who take every precaution to so district and re-district the legislative district that such legislation renders the black race powerless. If the black race ever gain ascendancy, then the same evil will be promptly and severely inflicted upon the white race.

The legislative district system is certainly fraught with many dangers, and should be abolished. Again, under the basis-vote system or proportionate legislative representation, all races and sexes could be alike represented. The negro could form into a separate party, by which means representation could not be denied the black race. The women, both black and white, could form separate parties and gain recognition by the same means. This independent feature alone would revolutionize both thought and action. Competition for official position would urge character, education, ability, fitness and responsibility to the highest state of human perfection. Woman, by the love of elevation and advancement, by motives of state instead of fashion, would lay aside frivolity, exchange the novel for history, the romance for law, the sensational story for science, the gossip for politics, become independent where now she is dependent, be respected where now she is disrespected, become a power in the land where now she is powerless. Moral

ethics would inspire man, and he would become no less elevated, respected, refined, polished and powerful in the grandest march of the highest civilization known, surrounded on every side and on every hand with competition and becoming influences that inspire the very soul of man to motives of purity and deeds of valor found nowhere linked to any one system of less importance than popular sovereignty, however paradoxical it may seem.



Chapter Eight.

POWER OF MONEY—LAW ALONE IMPARTS MONETARY VALUE—FUNCTIONS OF MONEY—PAPER MONEY SUPERIOR TO COIN—ARTICLES USED FOR MONEY—COURT DECISION—THE PATRIOT.



WHILE “the love of money” is said to be “the root of all evil,” yet money is the great agent of development, and a source of much good. Money is the invention of man—artificial, and subject to artificial changes. Money was invented by man to facilitate exchanges, trade and commerce. It is a medium of exchange and measure of value. It is a creature of law, and legitimate offspring of civil government. Its functions are debt-paying, value-measuring and product-distributing. It should be adequate to the demands of labor in order to facilitate the distribution of the products of industry. It should be made and controlled by the federal government. It should be made of that material possessing the greatest utility, made a full legal tender for all debts, public and

private, issued in sufficient volume that the interest on loans and taxes of the country would ever remain below the net profit of the product of industry. It would then be based upon all the wealth, the wisdom and intelligence of the nation, while its volume and portability would ever tend to strengthen trade and commerce and keep labor in the ascendancy.

We know of no material imparting such utility, out of which money is made, aside from paper. While money is truly the measure of value, yet we should always bear in mind that value is ideality. Value is established by the judgment of man or individuals, after which it is measured, conveyed, or legally canceled with money. Mr. Reader, you and I may differ in regard to the value of a certain thing; our judgment is then called into action to decide upon the value of that particular thing. After showing up the merits and demerits of whatever that particular thing may be, we finally establish its value, and that value is then measured to the one parting with that particular thing; you, for instance, receive the money or measure of value, while I receive in exchange for that money that particular thing. You, for instance, possess the money and I the article. I have the value in the article, and you have the value of that article in money.

The States of this union have delegated to

the United States congress and chief executive of the union, the right to "fix the standard of weights and measures;" and they have also prohibited any State from "coining money or emitting bills of credit." Is not this restriction of the State sufficient evidence that the federal government possesses said power? Through this delegated right we do know that the United States government has brought into existence, among other measures, the bushel, by clothing it with the attributes of law that make it an exact, specific measure of quantity. The government has said that "eight gallons shall be a bushel." Not that eight, seven, six or nine may, but that exactly eight shall! This shall! is the goverment's fiat. "Let it be done; a command to do something; an imperative or decisive command; a decree," says Webster, and all the courts must honor said command, or else we have no government. This is the supreme command of the superior power, honored by the inferior. The function of a bushel measure is to measure quantity, and it measures quantity from all to all alike without the least discrimination, because it is an exact, specific measure of quantity, clothed by the strong arm of the law.

This measure, like unto money, is artificial, and subject to artificial changes only; because it was invented by man to facilitate the meas-

urement of quantity, grain, etc. Then what would wisdom suggest? Why, that it be made out of that material having the greatest utility to facilitate an easy measurement of exact quantity. For that reason we do not make the bushel measure out of cumbersome metal, but light wood instead, which is more convenient. The bushel measure is beyond improvement, exact and perfect. The great trouble with money is that it lacks improvement, for that reason it is made out of metal instead of paper.

And it would be as difficult to make perfect money out of metal as it would a perfect bushel measure out of thin India rubber. The coin would change in value just in proportion to the expansion and contraction of the rubber. Therefore, neither material is suitable. You see, we always rely upon the stamp of the government, and if metal lacks the stamp it will not perform the functions of money; neither would the bushel measure perform its peculiar function of measuring quantity were the law or stamp of the government removed.

Perfect measures never change of their own accord. They are always changed by enactment, or else remain unchanged. Perfect money never changes without enactment, while all the products of labor are subject to change in exact proportion to demand and supply,

production and consumption. Consumption creates demand, and labor supplies the demand. A large volume of money increases consumption. The more money we have, the more of everything will we possess. Civilization teaches man, that as he becomes more civilized, the the more and more will he surround himself with the comforts of life. Thus does he call labor into requisition to produce what a higher state of civilization demands. Money, when performing its proper functions, goes from hand to hand, paying debts, discharging legal obligations, going from the tailor to the shoemaker; from the shoemaker to the miller for flour; from the miller to the machinist for machinery; from the machinist to the iron-monger; from the iron-monger to the miner; from the miner to the landlord for board; to the tailor for clothes, to the shoemaker for boots, then to the merchant for goods, and from the merchant to the farmer for produce, and from the farmer to the tax collector to defray the expenses of the government.

The great trouble with money is, that it lacks the necessary improvement to make it perform this or these functions essential to perfect money. Coin becomes hoarded, and fluctuates in value during extreme conditions, such as banruptcy, panics and war. Paper money is never hoarded, and is called into requisition to

perform that which coin lacks the power to accomplish in cases of such extreme necessity. Coin is too cumbersome and inconvenient to keep up with the speedy transmission of modern commerce. It did well enough for ox-team transportation, but it is really unsuitable to this age of progress and civilization. It belongs to barbarism, and must rank with the barbarian, barbarous age and usages. Coin, were it convenient and suitable, is inadequate to the demands of labor. A small volume of money retards progress, while a large volume stimulates it. Ninety-seven and one-half per cent of all the business of the world is carried on with paper money. Then why not give paper money its true place in the commercial world, instead of fictitious coin, the inconvenience, scarcity, and inadequacy of which permits it to perform but two and one half per cent of the business transactions of the commercial world?

The world has been set back in its progress greatly by false teachings of the hired political economists and writers upon the science of wealth, who have not only taught a false doctrine in the interests of capital, but mystified the money question until it seems utterly impossible for the common people to understand what true money or the true and real functions of money are. Money has two plain functions, one debt-paying, the other value-measuring.

What we mean by this is, that money will discharge a legal obligation and prevent imposition through unnecessary lawsuits, ruinous judgments and costs; and secondly that the value of property can be legally conveyed from one party to the other by the simple process of measuring adjudged value. Bear in mind that all values are established through and by the judgment of individuals. You and I agree upon the value or price of a certain thing, a bargain is struck, and I agree to pay you the price of that article of which our judgment has declared value through merit, demerit, need and comparison.

Individuals have purchasing power, but money has none. Our opponents say that "money has or must have purchasing power." Not so; you have confidence in my paying the debt I contract. For that reason debts are contracted. You then expect that debt to be discharged with lawful money; that kind of money which our courts recognize as a legal tender for debt, bearing the stamp of our government, its fiat, or command, if you please. Political economy has resulted in teaching the people that money is not a creature of the law; that it is intrinsic, real and natural; that it has a purchasing power; that gold and silver have been redeemed by labor; that nature imparts the money value to coin; that the government

can't make money ; that paper is dishonest, unredeemed and unconstitutional money ; that the issue of paper money was a war measure, and that gold is the money of the world, " honest money."

Chief Justice Marshall's decision in the case of " Sherman vs. Maryland," is substantially this: " When the act is not prohibited, and is calculated to effect any of the objects intrusted to the government, to undertake here to inquire into the degree of its necessity would be to pass the line which circumscribes the judicial department, and tread on legislative ground." If this decision is worth anything, does it not positively declare that the legal-tender act was a legislative, and not a judicial power ?

As to the first proposition, money certainly is a creature of the law, for we know of no money that has not been created by the law, aside from what has been counterfeited. As to the second proposition, that money must have intrinsic, real or natural value, it is false, for the very coins themselves vary in real value, and still pay the same debt. Here I present to you a 420-grain silver trade dollar, which in 1880 was optionally taken at 90 cents, but it would not pay any debt. It was not a legal tender ; it lacked the fiat or stamp of the government, yet it contained more intrinsic, real

or natural value than did the $412\frac{1}{2}$ -grain silver dollar, that discharged a legal obligation, to the extent of one hundred cents anywhere in the nation; besides which I also present to you these two half dollars of precisely the same kind of silver, being of nine hundred fine; they are a legal tender, lawful money, bearing the fiat, stamp, command or law of the government, and will discharge a legal obligation anywhere in the nation to the extent of one hundred cents, yet each half dollar contains exactly 192 grains of alloyed silver, making 384 grains to the dollar, or 36 grains less silver or real value than the trade dollar. How do you account for this, if it is essential for money to possess real value? You see the dollar containing 36 grains the most silver or real value, will not accomplish by far what the one will with 36 grains less.

If I buy four bushels of corn of you, at twenty-five cents per bushel, I will then have contracted a debt of one dollar; now, that debt must be discharged with a lawful dollar or legal tender. Now I present to you the 420-grain trade dollar, and you refuse to take it, because you say that "other people will take it for but ninety cents;" that if you "accept it for the debt," you will be "cheated out of ten cents." Very good, I insist upon your taking your pay in money possessing the greatest real value;

you still refuse to accept it for the debt, which brings on a lawsuit. You have now brought suit against me for the debt, or sum of one dollar and costs. Your attorney pleads that "I tendered you money that was not a legal tender; that the government repealed the law, July 22, 1876; that the money was not lawful; that it did not possess the fiat or stamp of the government, and would not cancel the debt, in consequence of which he asks for judgment for one dollar and costs."

My attorney has spent some time on political economy, he is an ignorant person, and pleads that his "client tendered plaintiff a 420-grain silver trade dollar; that it contained real value; that money must possess real, intrinsic, or natural value, or else it is not money; that the said trade dollar possessed 36 grains more silver of identically the same kind as do the two half dollars, and that the plaintiff must accept it or go unpaid, against whom he asks for a judgment for cost at the hands of the court for his not knowing better!" Well, what is the decision of the court? The court renders a judgment for "one dollar and costs" against me for tendering the plaintiff too much silver or real value. Yes; I tendered him 36 grains too much silver, and have got into limbo.

You see it won't work, and is nothing but a delusion. Now, what kind of money does this

very man take to satisfy this judgment debt with? Why, I pay it off with these half dollars which contain but 384 grains of the same kind of silver to the dollar, in consequence of which he received 36 grains less silver for the debt that 36 grains more would not pay, because of not being a legal tender or possessing the fiat or stamp of our government. Still, paper money bearing said fiat stamp would have discharged the same debt. You see, the courts are bound to honor the command of the government, whether that command be attached to paper or metal. It is simply the decree, the law, the fiat which we rely upon and all courts honor. There is a wonderful power in money, and it is not money unless made so by government.

As to the third proposition, that money must have a purchasing power, it is equally false, without foundation or authority. Individuals purchase, and money legally cancels the debt. As to the fourth proposition, that gold and silver money have been redeemed by labor, it is equally untrue, unless it applies to the redemption of all kinds of money, for labor brought all kinds of money into existence. As to the fifth proposition, that nature imparts value to money, it is also false, as we have plainly shown in the coins varying in value, yet of the same material and exact weight and fineness.

As to the sixth proposition, that the government can't make money, it is a fallacy too, transparent to be sustained one moment. If, the government can't make money, it stands to reason that no one else can, unless he be a counterfeiter, and nothing short of the penitentiary will punish such a criminal. Governments create all money, as I have already shown in the beginning of my writing upon power of money.

But to make it still plainer, that he who runs may read, that he who sees and hears may believe, I will submit to my readers the following ocular demonstration, upon which I challenge refutation and invite criticism. The problem is this: There are outside, a bed of mortar and pile of bricks; yet this is not a house or building, but simply material with which the mason forms a building. A building is a thing in which we lecture, teach school, sell goods, preach the gospel, plead law, manufacture goods, etc.; these are the functions of the house or building. Now we may have a piece of silver ore, from the mines of Peru, ninety per cent pure silver; but it is not money; no, it is material with which our government makes money. The government applies her law, declaring how much alloy and how many grains of fineness shall be in a lawful dollar, and then how many dollars shall be a legal

tender for debt. Here is a silver dollar that our government created. Can you refute the problem? Then, if not, you must accept it. First, you see, it was material, or a product of the earth, but when touched by the fiat of our government it became money.

Very well; to convince you that you have been deluded through the study of untrue political economy, or that kind hired in the interest of capital, we now call your attention to the fact that our government makes money, not only out of gold and silver, but out of nickel, copper and paper. Here is evidence: Twenty nickels are worth exactly sixteen cents when placed on the market and sold at their actual commercial value; yet twenty of them will pay a debt of a dollar. Then is there not eighty-four cents of actual fiat or artificial value imparted to each dollar? Again, the copper penny, fourteen hundred and fifty of which will pay fourteen dollars and fifty cents of debt; that is, for debt-paying purposes; yet, you place them on the market and they will fetch but one dollar. Then is there not just thirteen dollars and a half of fiat or artificial value added to each dollar's worth? Again, the paper dollar, which has no real or natural value in it, yet it will discharge a dollar of debt. Then is there not just one hundred cents added to it by the fiat of the government? Yes, you always

rely upon the stamp, the law, the fiat, or artificial value imparted to money by federal government. This government is simply the people, who have a right to declare what they shall have under their constitution. Your political economy is wrong ; clear out of joint ; and the people who advocate it are clear out of their heads to believe such a crazy doctrine. You may as well say that a grist mill can only grind wheat, as to say that the government can only make money of metal. You do know that the mill will grind wheat, rye, corn, barley, etc., into grist or flour, and you do know that the government makes money out of gold, silver, nickel, copper, and paper. As to the seventh proposition, that paper money is dishonest, unredeemed and therefore unconstitutional, it is without truth or foundation, if metal money is constitutional.

* * * * * As to the eighth proposition, that paper money (treasury notes) was a war measure, it has no bearing whatever upon the constitutionality of said money, because, if unconstitutional, every dollar of bonds into which this money is converted is also unconstitutional, null and void—a worthless sham, a fearful fraud, and should not be paid.

As to the ninth proposition, that gold is the money of the world it is equally fallacious, for

there is hardly a thing that the mind of man can dwell upon but what has been used for money at different periods by the various nations of the earth. Abraham, we are told in in the 23d chapter of the book of Genesis, purchased a burial place for his wife Sarah with 400 shekels ; we are also told, in chapter 29, that Laban let Jacob have his daughters, Leah and Rachel, for fourteen years' work. History also teaches us that the Persians used horses and bread for money ; that the Carthagenians used leather until gold and silver became quite plenty ; that the patriarchs of old used donkeys, cattle, sheep, male and female children, gold cups, silver cups, diamonds, etc. ; that the ancient Greeks, at the time of Homer, which was 900 B. C., used cattle ; that the Greeks at the time of Lycurgus, 888 years B. C., issued iron money ; that the Greeks and Romans used cattle ; that the Romans used wood and leather at the time of Pompilius, who built the famous temple of the Janus, 700 years B. C. ; that the Romans used wood, land, tin, leather, human beings ; that the Cicilians used leather at the time of William I., in the years 1154-66 ; that the Spaniards used leather in 1158 and 1574 ; that Fredrick Barbarossa used leather, with which he successfully prosecuted the war with Milan ; that Duke Vitale, Michael II., established an inscribed credit in the bank of

Venice, under the Venetian republic of Italy, in the year 1171 ; that it remained good, without one single financial crash or money panic, during a period of more than six hundred years, during which time the Venetians rose into fame, wisdom and wealth, beyond that of any other nation on the face of the earth, and would have continued in this state of progress, wisdom, and prosperity had it not been for the conquest of Italy, by Napoleon, in the beginning of the 19th century ; however, Napoleon was compelled to leave Italy, after ransacking the bank of Venice, in which he found neither gold nor silver to satisfy his insatiate greed, and with which to keep his devastating army alive to further harass and murder the innocent people of that unhappy land ; that the French used leather at the time of King John, in the year 1360 ; that the Chinese used wood or bark money, made from the inner bark of the mulberry tree, in the year 1300—also brass, copper, gold and silver ; that the Africans used iron and cowery shells, according to the accounts given by DeChaillu, Speed and Grant, Dr. Livingstone, Henry M. Stanley, and others ; that the South Sea Islanders used beads and iron ; that the Abyssinians used salt ; that the Russians used tea, skins of beasts, platinum ; that the Asiatics used paper ; that the Hollanders used card-board in the year 1574 ; that the Spaniards used leather in

the year 1574; that the West Indies used whisky, bread, pins, snuff, soap, chocolate and eggs; that the Americans purchased the State of Rhode Island with twenty fathoms of wampum in the 16th century; that they used lead bullets and made them a legal tender in the State of Massachusetts in the years 1635-7; that the same State made "wampumpege" or wampum (beads), made by the aborigines out of the sea shell, a legal tender in 1640-41; that tobacco was used in the State of Virginia in the year 1801; that coon and deer skins were used for money in the States of Illinois and Indiana; that the Mexicans used soap in the year 1846; that our present government makes money out of gold, silver, nickel, copper and paper, no one will deny.

As time will not permit of a full review of the world's money, we now submit to you whether or not you consider gold either "honest" or the "money of the world?" No, my friends, gold is neither honest money, nor the money of the world, for there are plenty of nations to-day that do not use it for money; and we will now leave it to your judgment, candor and honesty to say whether that gold, after changing from an actual pound sterling in value to over \$202, is "honest money." In the beginning, twelve ounces were but the pound sterling in England, and now twelve

ounces of gold in that country is valued at more than \$202. You see, the \$4.84 pound of twelve ounces of gold has changed to nearly £42, or \$202.

As to gold being the money of the world, neither Russia, Austria, Egypt, Mexico, China, Central America, Peru, British India, nor Ecuador, use gold for money.

There is great power in government paper money that should ever be borne in mind, and that is the stability it offers to a republican form of government. Were there no coin at all, and nothing but paper money to rely upon in the American government, based upon the intelligence, wealth and wisdom of the whole nation, it would have the desired effect to make every citizen a true, tried and thorough patriot; besides which, it would dispel rebellion, civil war, revolution and foreign invasion. You see, there would be little or no inducement for the people to rebel, for in such an event, they would overthrow the government, destroy the very money that gave them life, liberty, wealth, peaceful homes, prosperity and happiness; yet were it coin instead, they could rebel, stab the government to the very heart, bury the gold and silver, then exhume this metallic corpse and take up their peaceful abode in some foreign land. Not so with paper money, for the moment the government received its death

blow from the hands of the rebel, it would reel, totter and fall, carrying with it into the everlasting vortex of destruction, all of its money, all of its wealth, all of its liberty, peace, prosperity, and happiness, the destruction, vassalage and overthrow of which lends no support whatever to disloyalty, while on the other hand it is upheld.

And just so in respect to foreign invasion. The knowledge that we had no coin to plunder, would destroy the inducement, and prevent our enemies making war upon us. But in case nothing would impede a foreign war, paper money would, beyond doubt, make every American citizen a true patriot, not stopping to become a drafted soldier, but volunteering without; saying in one common voice, one common cause: "Let us go to the front and defend our government, our homes, our posterity, our liberty and our money that gives to us and our posterity every comfort of life."

I now leave you to judge of the power and reality of coin and paper money. The real power that paper money imparts to this government, its people, progress, development, wisdom and civilization, in our opinion settles the question beyond doubt or contradiction. But then, notwithstanding all this, it will be many, many years before the stubborn prejudice of man will give way, and place money where true science and common sense dic-

tates; therefore, gold, silver and paper (or metallic and paper money) will be used as a matter of course, until that period or epoch of time when civilization dawns upon man, a more wise and generous world.



Chapter Nine.

SUPREME COURT—PRESIDENTS ELECTED BY
POPULAR VOTE—ALL EXECUTIVES INELIGI-
GIBLE FOR RE-ELECTION—LEGISLATORS
IN PERPETUAL SESSION—JEFFERSON'S
POLITICAL MAXIMS—POPULAR GOV-
ERNMENT DEFINED—NOBILITY
WITHOUT A TITLE AND ROY-
ALTY WITHOUT A PLACE,
KNOCKING LOUDLY AT
THE DOOR OF LIB-
ERTY.



HAVING said all we care to about
the power of money and the new
system of legislative representation
in this short narrative, we will now
turn our attention to the organiza-
tion and importance of the Supreme
Court, leaving the reader to enlarge
upon the contracted ideas and expand the new
system to the broadest scope of its extent.
The judicial power of the United States should
be vested in Supreme Courts and such inferior
courts as the National Legislative Assembly
thought fit, from time to time, to ordain and

establish. The number of supreme judges, however, should be increased to a sufficient number to form two courts, one of which, highest in authority, should sit in perpetual session at the seat of government, with specified and limited adjournments to agree with the National Legislative Assembly.

Said court should be elected by the said Assembly, for a term of nine years, should have appellate jurisdiction, and no judge should be chosen for said office who had not attained his fortieth year, or who had passed his fifty-fifth year. Said court should have jurisdiction over every legislative act of the National Legislative Assembly before the same was declared law; should have appellate jurisdiction, also, in case of equity; should have jurisdiction over treaties with foreign nations, ambassadors, public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, and should have jurisdiction over treason. No act of the National Legislative Assembly should become law or be declared in full force and effect until submitted to the decision of the Supreme Court, which court should pass upon the constitutionality of every act, within ninety days after the same had passed the National Legislative Assembly.

The inferior court, and courts inferior to it, should have jurisdiction over all other cases

not reserved to the National Legislative Assembly, or Supreme Court, highest in authority, with appellate jurisdiction. It is a very grave mistake with nations, states and municipalities that law is permitted to go into full force and effect before ascertaining whether or not said law is constitutional. It, however, is a time-worn practice, precedent and usage among nations, and as erroneous and far-fetched as it is dangerously fraught with evil consequences.

For illustration, let us review the Civil Rights act, which remained in full force and effect for years, attended with evil results of a very grave nature. This unjust and unconstitutional act compelled proprietors of public places and public conveyances, under penalty of damage, to admit and furnish the same accommodations to the colored person, on tender of lawful money, as to all other persons. As soon as this erroneous act (which had inflicted evil instead of good upon the colored race), reached the Supreme Court, it was declared unconstitutional, null and void. Had the Supreme Court passed upon the constitutionality of said act before it was declared in full force and effect, much trouble, expense, vexation and imposition to both the white and black races would have been avoided, while bitter feelings and race distinction could never have reached such disagreeable proportions as the said un-

guarded act seems to have produced. By the process of appellate jurisprudence, before a law was declared constitutional, much time, money and vexatious disappointment could and would be saved, as law would go into full force and effect, based upon the very highest authority, preventing largely the violation of law so often outraged for want of just such authority. It is true the lawyers would have less to do, but then, what this kid-glove gentry would lose, horny-handed labor would save.

No doubt the main reason why the nations of the world have been so long in adopting this just, simple and essential system is, that the nations have trusted this multifarious branch of business too much to the shrewdness of tricky lawyers. In point of good government there is probably nothing so desirable as prompt, speedy trial, unless on the part of the culprit. Many guilty persons escape the rigor of the law more on account of delay than anything else. This too frequent error should be more strictly guarded against, as mob violence is probably more traceable to this cause than any other thing. Speedy trial is by far the best guard.

Then there are so many instances where our nation is involved with foreign nations. So many cases where individuals have claims against our nation, that go neglected from time

to time on account of too much business for one court to discharge. No case ready for trial or adjustment, connected with our federal government, should remain longer than one year on the docket. While under the present very imperfect system, cases have outlived the plaintiff and grown mouldy with age. This is unjust, unstable, could be avoided, and should be prevented by all means honorable to the government and dignity of the court.

Our reason for choosing supreme judges between the ages of forty and fifty-five years is this: The Supreme Courts should be composed of persons of experience, free from infirmities of both body and mind. Youthful inexperience and the dotage of old age should be guarded against in all places of such responsibility. No judge serving on the supreme bench should be eligible to the same office, as party prejudice would not then be so apt to bias the judgment. Judges of our courts cannot be removed too far from the influence of party. These are serious objections to re-appointment and life-tenure of office.

Having said all we care to regarding the judiciary in so brief a work, we will dismiss the subject, leaving the reader to improve and enlarge upon the plan, while we turn our attention briefly to the executive department of popular government. The executive power

should be vested in the president of the United States of America, who should hold said office during the term of six years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same time, be elected by a direct vote of the people of the States and territories within jurisdiction of the federal government.

Neither of said officials should be eligible to re-election to the same office. The president should be commander in chief of the army and navy, and of the militia of the several States and territories within jurisdiction of the federal government, when called into actual service. The president should sign each act of the National Legislative Assembly as soon as said act or acts had been declared constitutional by the Supreme Court, the signature of whom being only an affirmative guarantee of the constitutionality of said law. The president, as an executive, should be denied all legislative power, appointing and pardoning. The vice-president should preside over the National Legislative Assembly, and have the casting vote whenever a tie occurred.

In case of death or inability of the president, then the vice-president should become president of the United States and territories of America. And, whenever it devolved upon the vice-president to take the executive chair, then the National Legislative Assembly should

elect the vice-president by majority vote, and in case there be a tie on said election then the chief justice of the Supreme Court of appellate jurisdiction should preside, and have the casting vote. The president and vice-president should be persons filling all the requirements of an American citizen, being past forty and under sixty-four years of age, and twenty-one years a resident of America.

All judges and executives should be ineligible to re-election to the same office. Then our laws would be honorably judged and faithfully executed. It is far better to lengthen the term of office than make the official re-elective. If re-elective, then the official is more apt to favor those who place that official in office. If not re-elective, then the law will be honorably judged and faithfully executed without fear or favor. The longer a faithful legislator serves in the legislative department, the more the said statesman and law-maker is worth to the people, and, unless he or she is of such worth to the public, under the system of proportionate legislative representation, the least possible are the chances that said person would be returned to the National Legislative Assembly.

There can be no good reason assigned for electing or appointing the president to so responsible an office through a kind of second-handed machine, like unto the electoral college

system. The people must resolutely make up their minds to rescue the fragments of popular sovereignty at the earliest possible moment, and add thereto all the necessary appendages of popular government in the broadest, fullest sense of the term :—

1st. By establishing universal suffrage.

2d. By abolishing the legislative district system.

3d. By abolishing the United States senate.

4th. By abolishing the electoral college.

5th. By converting congress into a National Legislative Assembly.

6th. By electing every government official within practical reach of the ballot.

7th. By abolishing the use of metal for money.

8th. By establishing proportionate legislative representation.

9th. By vesting in the representatives of the National Legislative Assembly, all legislative, appointing, impeaching and pardoning powers.

10th. By the federal government assuming authority and supreme control over all things of a national character, such as the ballot, the army and navy, the mail, the revenue, the money and banking ; telegraph, transportation both by land and by water.

This is popular government, and nothing short of which should be demanded by an in-

telligent, liberty-loving nation of people. While our idea of popular government may be regarded as extravagant by some, yet Thomas Jefferson, who is worshiped by the American people, and who, like George Washington, has gained immortal fame for noble deeds, was no less extravagant, as will be seen by his political maxims, which I take great pleasure to here introduce :—

JEFFERSON'S POLITICAL MAXIMS.

- 1st. Legal equality of human beings. [Man and woman.]
- 2d. The people the only source of legitimate power. [Both sexes.]
- 3d. Absolute and lasting severance of church and state.
- 4th. Freedom, sovereignty and independence of the respective States.
- 5th. The union a compact—neither a consolidation nor a centralization.
- 6th. Constitution of the union a special written grant of powers, limited and definite.
- 7th. No hereditary office, nor order, nor title.
- 8th. No taxation beyond the public want.
- 9th. No national debts, if possible.
- 10th. No costly splendor of administration.
- 11th. No proscription of opinion nor, of public discussion.

12th. No unnecessary interference with individual property or speech.

13th. The civil paramount to the military authority.

14th. The representative to obey the instructions of his constituents.

15th. No favored classes, no monopolies.

16th. Elections free, and suffrage universal.

17th. No public moneys expended except by warrant of specific appropriation.

18th. No mysteries in government inaccessible to the public eye.

19th. Public compensation for public services, moderate salaries, and pervading economy and accountability.

Thomas Jefferson's idea of popular government differs but little from the system outlined in this work ; but then, we are living in a different age, whose demands are greater, broader and more diversified, surrounded by cruel monopoly and governed by relentless aristocracy, the very things of which Jefferson cautiously warned the people. We have departed from the noble principles of popular government taught by him—gone astray to such an extent and so far that all that now remains of a people's government are the shattered, outraged fragments, daily fading into insignificance. Popular government must eventually hold sway in America, or monarchy take full possession

of our present aristocratic system, which has given rise to more than one thousand millionaires in the last quarter of a century.

The arrogant desire of aristocracy is alike the world over, and is therefore no different in its outrageous demands in America than in England, Germany or Russia. It would practice the same outrage, tyranny and oppression under like circumstances. Then, to prevent dynamite playing the same sad and awful role in the presence of oppression and in the absence of liberty in this country, that it does now in those countries, we had better take warning in due time from their sad experience, by perfecting our system of government to approximate more nearly the wishes and wants of the people, and demands of popular sovereignty, aimed at in the very beginning by the patriotic sages of revolutionary fame. Fellow citizens, I bid thee beware! 'Tis not a strange sound, a mere fancy. Nobility without a name, and royalty without a place, stands knocking loudly at the rickety door of liberty this very day for admission. Shall we sit quietly with folded arms (?), dally and doubt and dream until our last hope fades into nothingness, or arouse ourselves from the dormant lethargy and go forth to the rescue of unborn generations who must otherwise linger on in the painful womb of cruel bondage?

Chapter Ten.

MONETARY PHILOSOPHY—PAPER MONEY BASED ON NATIONAL WEALTH—COIN WITHOUT A BASIS—PAPER THE ONLY THING OUT OF WHICH A PERFECT MONEY CAN BE MADE—COIN SHOULD BE ABOLISHED—PAPER MONEY SOLVES FIVE IMPORTANT PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS.



PERFECT money and sound monetary system are beyond doubt or contradiction the most potent factors known to human development and high-wrought civilization, emanating from the genius of man; while an imperfect money and unsound monetary system are far more to be feared, dreaded and despised than all the other evils with which the human family is surrounded and afflicted, as there is not one solitary human or commercial development pertaining to advanced civilization, however great or small, expanded or contracted, that did not either originate from a perfect or imperfect monetary system. Without a mone-

tary system, all mankind, like "God's wild children of the desert," would very soon degenerate into cruel, savage barbarism.

Money supplies man's wants in ten thousand ways, and it is a legal tender for lawful obligations in every court of law and justice instituted by man. It is a human invention, creature of law and legitimate offspring of civil government. It is created alone by the prerogative of supreme authority, and should be controlled by no less a power, as we have already shown.

It fits the professor for the college, the merchant for trade and commerce, the general for command, the physician for practice, the musician for the instrument, the mechanic for the factory and shop, the minister for the pulpit, the lawyer for the bar of justice, man and woman for society, the statesman for the most exalted and responsible station in civil life, the state for government, army and navy for war. It will secure justice, and bribe courts. It confines the innocent and frees the guilty. It deserts the begger, excites the lunatic, and betrays the victim. It sends the drunkard to jail, the thief to prison, the murderer to the gallows. It is the agent of joy and sadness, good and evil, activity and idleness, trade and commerce, wealth and poverty, innocence and guilt. It concentrates wealth and scatters

poverty and crime broadcast. It makes a nation strong or weak, dependent or independent, bond or free. It causes trade and commerce to flourish or languish. It adjusts every claim of society. It is woman's best friend and man's worst enemy. No greater blessing could possibly descend upon the American people, yea, the whole world, than a perfect money and monetary system.

Such perfection is, however, within the scope of human genius and skill of statesmanship. Money can and should be made perfect. A sound monetary system can and should be adopted. Paper is the only thing out of which a perfect money can be made. Government is the only safe power in whose hands banking can be safely intrusted. Paper money, made a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, issued and controlled by the federal government, covers five philosophical propositions, nowhere else found entering so largely into human advancement, financial development, product of wealth, trade and commerce, art, literature, science and civilization:—

1st. In point of perfection.

2d. In point of adequacy.

3d. In point of preventing rebellion.

4th. In point of preventing invasion.

5th. In point of establishing republics, fraternizing the world, and putting a stop to war.

PROPOSITION FIRST.—Only by legal process can monetary value be imparted. One hundred cents, under stamp of the federal government, forms the unit dollar, the slightest variation in the value of which renders it unfit for money—could not be a dollar without being exactly one hundred cents at all times and under all circumstances—a tender in every court for a lawful obligation of one hundred cents. The very moment this unit of value, called one dollar, changes, perfection no longer remains with it. Money must have an unchangeable value, and should be composed of material imparting the greatest monetary utility and least commercial value.

Paper is the only thing yet discovered by man in which can be found all the leading qualities and monetary attributes. Paper is applicable, so cheap and plenty, that to force the genius of man into avenues of research for a more suitable material would only prove futile and a mere waste of time. Nothing better can ever be discovered or invented for the true purpose of money. It is suitable to bear the stamp of the government, susceptible of artful perfection to such a degree as to render counterfeiting a very difficult matter and hopeless of reward. The utility of paper money in point of cheap transportation, loss and concealment, cannot be excelled. It burdens not the

bearer, and can be carried concealed from theft in large sums.

There is no metal yet discovered by man into which perfect money can be made. Gold comes the nearest to such a money of any of the metals, but lacks too much the essential qualities of perfection, and can never be made into perfect money. Gold has too great a commercial value, hence a changeable value. Perfect money cannot become an article of merchandise. Gold is too scarce and wears away too fast. Gold is too cumbersome, and costs too much for transportation. Gold burdens the bearer and is not susceptible of concealment from theft. Money should not be hoarded. Gold is always hoarded. Money should never invite an enemy. Metal of every description made into money constantly extends invitations to our foes, invites rebellion, invasion, and war. Such money, however, lacks all the virtue of perfection. Metal money has no basis whatever, while paper money is based upon every dollar of wealth the people possess, of whatever nation issuing it. Metal money sprang from an ignorant, barbaric age; while paper money sprang from the bright genius of modern intelligence; is based upon wealth, wisdom and faith—the wealth of the nation, the wisdom of statesmanship, the faith of a patriotic people to maintain popular government that gives stability to such a system.

As the reader has doubtless become familiar with the preceding chapter, relating to the power of money, we will now dismiss the first proposition, and review the second, relating to money being plenty enough to distribute the products of industry without resorting to the credit or barter system.

PROPOSITION SECOND.—Money should be plenty enough to distribute the products of industry, prevent credit, and drive usury out of existence. Just as long as money is loaned at interest, and credit is resorted to, just so long will labor have to surrender a large portion of its earnings without receiving a just compensation or equivalent in return. Just as long as the usury system exists, just that long will the credit system exist ; and, just as long as both exist, will panics, concentration of wealth, idleness, poverty and crime exist.

Usury and credit are twin relics of despotism. Neither should be tolerated in a republic ; ought to, and will be, abolished, or popular government prove a failure. With usury and credit, labor is impoverished by contributing to capital without receiving equivalent. Money should be plenty enough to seek investment instead of interest, then labor would be employed, wealth would be produced, want and depression disappear. Credit is the very evidence of the scarcity of money. When a

nation lacks money it resorts to credit. Whenever money seeks loans, labor seeks the alms-house. Whenever money seeks investment, alms-houses, jails and penitentiaries are deserted. Usury and credit are the despoilers of nations and the agents of crime. The lack of a sufficient volume of money produces all these evils. When interest is high, money is scarce, products are cheap, and labor is a beggar. The scarcity of money produces economy, economy produces stagnation, stagnation produces panics, panics produce the concentration of wealth, concentration of wealth produces idleness, idleness produces poverty, poverty produces crime, and crime produces decivilization.

When money is plenty, interest is less, credit is less, loss of property is less, panics are less frequent, lawsuits are less frequent, executions are less frequent, idleness, poverty and crime are less frequent. If money could not be loaned, credit would not be given; if credit were not given, the absorption of wealth would cease to make further inroads upon labor. The purchaser would be independent instead of being dependent. The merchant would have no bad debts, could sell for less profit; while the purchaser would be perfectly free and at liberty to purchase of whomsoever he or she pleased, without feeling the humiliating embarrassment of obligation and dependency, characteristic of the credit system, everywhere.

Metal money, if it could be made perfect, is altogether too scarce to ever stimulate or revolutionize such a system as this. Usury and credit have robbed labor of nearly every dollar possessed by capital, plunged the human race into debt, have mortgaged unborn generations for security, and bankrupted nearly every nation on earth. Then is it not time that practical, new-born ideas were put into immediate operation to solve this awful problem of life?

PROPOSITION THIRD.—Were there no other kind than legal-tender paper money in use, rebellion would become impossible, would no longer disturb the tranquillity of popular government, or invite anarchy to reign in the absence of patriotism. Such a money would be based upon the entire wealth of the nation, and upon the very existence and life of the republic. Popular government is the people's government, and the people own everything on which said government and money is based, which makes every man, woman and child co-partners, true, tried and sworn patriots to defend said government.

When such money was offered in liquidation of debt, the receiver would accept money secured by his or her own property. A, for instance, owes B one thousand dollars. A tenders B one thousand dollars of such money in liquidation of said debt. B receives the money

and the debt is canceled. A and B are citizens of the government that issues and controls said money ; A and B are property owners in said government ; then is not said money based upon the property of each individual ? Under this system A would be tendering money in liquidation of debt, based upon his own property ; while B would be receiving money for debt based upon his own property.

Could money have a more sound, safe, or stable basis ? Each person becomes a partner at issue, a sworn patriot to defend the government issuing said money, with which every debt is liquidated and every comfort of life secured. The overthrow of such a government would be the very means of destroying every dollar issued, which would impoverish the people by destroying the money that put each man, woman, and child in possession of whatever property and comforts of life each and all might enjoy. Would such a nation of people rebel ? Could such a nation of people consistently rebel ? It is necessary to go to the very extreme point—the very *NE PLUS ULTRA*—to prove the moral of philosophy, in consequence of which we will presume that dissatisfaction, disagreement, dissension and the like, have convulsed the nation ; that civil war threatens the safety and security of our government. Here a rebellious faction arises, and equips itself for war.

The friends and enemies of the government are formed in line for battle, facing each other with deadly and destructive weapons of warfare. The dreadful, terrible, awful moment that tries the very souls of men and hearts of women is at hand. The signal is given, and destruction of life and property, and devastation, follow in quick and rapid succession. With brave determination stand two powerful armies, with tense nerve, dauntless eye and steel of fate. The signal gun is ready to belch forth the blast of death; the bugle is almost to the lips; the warlike steed sniffs the air and champs the bit; the clashing sword is ready to leap from the scabbard; grape and canister, shot and shell to rend the air, the fort and human form have charged the well shotted guns to drench God's sacred soil with human gore. The merest accident, and wives, and mothers, sisters, daughters and lovers craped in silent mourning would bewail the mournful fate of all that's near and dear to life on earth. Between these intrepid armies dauntless stands the Goddess of Liberty, with bared foot and outstretched arms, grasping the olive branch of peace in one hand and the banner of liberty in the other, on which is inscribed; "Obedience to popular government is resistance to tyranny, protection to our money, our homes, our happiness, our lives and our liberty!" The sight

of which fires every patriot's heart with love and zeal and true devotion.

The Goddess of Liberty is fondly and affectionately embraced by all. The signal gun of cruel warfare fires not; rebellion is set at naught, and defiance becomes a thing of the barbaric past. But not so with gold and silver money; for the rebel could bury this metallic corpse, stab the government to the very heart, then exhume this metallic fiend, become loyal at home or welcomed to some foreign land. With paper money, the very moment the government was destroyed, every dollar would become worthless trash; lost forever, and friend and foe alike would lose; hence the utter impossibility of rebellion. Equipped with such a money, entwined in the arms of *her* country, enshrined in the hearts of *her* people, would proudly stand forth the Goddess of Liberty bidding defiance to civil war, death, ruin and desolation.

PROPOSITION FOURTH.—In point of invasion, history records a very important fact in support of paper money preventing war. The Venetian republic abandoned the use of gold and silver or metallic money in the year 1171, under duke Vitlale Michael the 2nd, and adopted an inscribed credit in the place of said money, with which to carry on the business and commercial transactions of said republic. This na-

tion advanced beyond the civilization of all the nations of the earth, remaining for centuries without one "solitary financial crash or money panic," while her inscribed credit bore a premium of 28 per cent at one time. Napoleon, becoming familiar with her prosperity, knowing, too, that neither gold nor silver circulated, supposed that the bank vaults of Venice were richly laden with these precious metals, at the head of his desperate army, he advanced to the very seat of her government, intending to plunder the bank of its gold and silver, overthrow the republic and lay waste the country. On opening her bank he found neither gold nor silver, could not utilize her credit, in consequence of which he withdrew his murderous army from Italy to fields where gold and silver glittered more brightly and delusive, leaving the Venetian republic unharmed and in full possession of her credit money. Napoleon well knew that if he destroyed the Venetian republic, her credit money would become worthless trash in his hands, with which he could not even purchase a biscuit for ever so hungry a soldier; but had the vaults contained gold and silver money instead, then Napoleon could have used it with which to accomplish his warlike purpose, and impoverish and enslave the nation by force of arms.

The money advocated in this work is very similar to the Venetian credit money, further than this: The inscribed credit of the bank of Venice did not circulate like our bills or notes. A, B, C, D, E, and F, citizens of the Venetian republic of Italy, had exchanged their gold and silver money for a credit on the bank books of Venice. Then when A did business with B, A gave B a check on said bank, which was charged to A and credited to B. This kind of money was not subject to loss, however, as it was carried about in form of book account, instead of bills advocated here and elsewhere.

Such a form did well enough for so small a republic as Venice, but would not be considered practical for a country as large as ours; hence, the convenience of the bills in comparison with the credit system in point of utility. Paper money, made a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, is virtually a direct lien on every person's property who may live and enjoy the possession of all the property and comforts enjoyed in this nation, the security of which depends solely upon the stability of the government. Knowing this, there would be little or no inducement for foreign nations to make war upon us; from the fact that, in the destruction of our government, the money would become perfectly worthless in the hands of the enemy. Dispirited in the absence of

gold and silver and metallic money, and confronted by a united army of sworn patriots desperately in earnest to defend the government at all hazards, and save the money with which they had experienced prosperity and had been surrounded with every enjoyment and comfort, the combined hordes of all Europe could not defeat America. Stimulated by the love of liberty, prompted by resistance to tyranny, urged by considerations of home and happiness, esteem for popular government, admiration for the unequalled worth of such a money would inspire every patriot and fill every breast with intrepid bravery to stubbornly dispute, inch by inch, every foot of sacred soil invaded, dying in the last ditch a bleeding sacrifice, unawed and unconquered. Such a money unites the people, making the interest of one the duty and concern of all.

And here let me remark that, once, upon discussing this question with a learned gentleman, who opposed my theory by asserting that "if we were engaged in war with a foreign nation, he might wish ever so much to dispose of his property for silver and gold with which to escape to some distant land, preserve his property and the lives of his dear family from war, but, with such money as I advocated he could not find a purchaser; and if he did, the enemy would not receive the money; but, with gold

and silver he could traverse the world, and find friends to shelter him and his, and possess comforts of life to enjoy. Hence the inconsistency of my doctrine!" This admission, however, I frankly and freely made, turning to my opponent, asking him in the presence of an intelligent audience, whether he would be as fair with me, to which he replied, "yes." I then proceeded with my delineation, greatly to his chagrin, and the merriment of the audience, in the following manner: Well, sir, under the gold and silver money system you would sell your home, flee the country, go to some foreign land (and we will presume that half the nation joined you in this cowardly act); would not the common enemy capture our country, despoil our homes, ruin popular government, insult decency, plunder our people, outrage even the Goddess of Liberty, and convert a proud republic into a fiendish monarchy and absolute despotism? But, sir, under the true monetary system, offered by me in this discussion, you frankly admit the force of my argument, "that the coward must and shall defend his home, his fireside and his country."

PROPOSITION FIFTH.—Argus-eyed, the world turns eagerly toward revolutionized America, who at last dethrones the king and queen of terror where gold and silver reign supreme no more. She is now in possession of popular gov-

ernment and popular money. Blessed by such a government and favored at last with a perfect money and monetary system, America bids defiance to all the world, and begins anew the rapid march of civilization, soon looking back and down on her inferiors, struggling between life and death in foreign lands where gold is king and silver queen, and metal money prince of all the ills of life. Paper money is a full legal-tender for all debts, public and private, honored in every court for the discharge of lawful obligations, issued and controlled by the federal government in volume equal to the demands of labor, annihilating interest and credit, the new era begins to dawn and brighten into the brilliancy of cheerful noonday. Labor is no longer hampered, is no longer subservient to capital, ostracised from society, driven into exile, forced into idleness, reduced to poverty or legislated down into horrid crime. Money, the best the world ever knew, worth one hundred cents to the dollar at all times and under all circumstances, is plentiful enough to seek investment, invite labor to the shop, the factory, and avocations of toil, to produce wealth, create the necessaries and artificial comforts of life never before enjoyed by the toiling masses of mankind.

The field and factory produce in endless variety and in great abundance. Beggars are

no longer seen upon our streets, the poor suffer not. Capital is no longer king. The dungeon hovel, filled once with squalor, want and wretchedness, has been transformed into the bright, cheerful, happy home. The mad-house has been changed into an orderly mission; the prisons of awful crime have been converted into colleges of learning. Great wealth that was once concentrated in the hands of the few is more generally distributed among the many. Panics, that were periodical and of frequent occurrence, disturb no longer our great commercial centers.

The money problem is mathematical, and the world no longer doubts. America becomes the guiding star of empire and state. Other nations borrow our beacon light of modern civilization and our example becomes universal. Purple robes and glittering crowns of royal splendor and authority hold sway to damn mankind no longer. Republics based on popular government follow in rapid and quick succession. The subject of despotism becomes the citizen of state. Kings, queens, princes, emperors, czars, sultans, rajahs, pashas and potentates rob at leisure and practice foul tyranny at ease no more.

Gold and silver plugs the tooth, instead of blocking the wheels of progress as before; while popular government and paper money go

forth in legal unity to "multiply and replenish the earth."

The goods of this nation are carried abroad and the goods of other nations are brought to our shore. Trade and commerce in great abundance rapidly flow between nation and nation. Our goods seek their market and their goods seek our market. Our money will pay for anything we have for sale and their money will pay for anything they have for sale. Our ships are unloaded and laden at their ports and their ships are unloaded and laden at our ports. We sell for their money and they sell for our money. We buy with their money and they buy with our money. Here it will be seen that the money of the world becomes interchangeable.

Foreign nations possess large quantities of our money and our nation possesses large quantities of their money, by which means an interchangeable circulation is maintained. We possess the money of all nations and all nations possess our money. Moneys of all nations mix and intermix together. Knowing that the money of each nation is as good as our own, all money circulates alike, pays debts alike, no matter where, because it can be exchanged without discount or brought to its native shore for produce. Our nation is in harmonious sympathy with all nations and all nations are in harmony with ours.

The world has become fraternized under one system of government, by one kind of money, and through one common interest. One language is finally adopted, and all countries speak it. The nations of the earth mingle and intermingle with that becoming love and respect characteristic of the broadest commonalty of the well regulated family.

Neither gold nor silver with which to wreck the "ship of state" longer impedes universal progress; buoyant and fast she rides the roughest sea with perfect safety, laden with a full legal-tender paper money, that has finally put a stop to war and turned the world into a blissful paradise, however paradoxical this may seem, as the nations of the earth would bear the same relation to each other under such a system as do the citizens of the same government.



Chapter Eleven.

GOVERNMENT BANKING—THE POST OFFICE,
POSTAL-TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE—
INDIVIDUAL BANKING AN EXPENSIVE
FAILURE—MONEY WITH OR WITH-
OUT INTEREST—THE EFFECT
UNDER FEDERAL CONTROL.



HAVING written at considerable length on the philosophy of popular government and paper money, we will close this work with a brief chapter on federal banking, the post-office, postal-telegraph and telephone, illustrating the feasibility, cheapness and superior advantages to be derived when under federal instead of individual or corporate control. Individual banking having proved a gross, expensive and damaging failure to the people of all branches of industry, from its early history down to the present time, calls loudly for an immediate and radical change. Nor can this be contradicted or gainsaid, in point of either human or commercial advancement, as proved by the undue

accumulation of vast fortunes through usury and credit, on the one hand, and loss through bankruptcy and deposit on the other. If for no other reasons, these bad features alone should condemn so unwise and unsafe a system that for ages has been absorbing and concentrating great fortunes and untold millions of wealth in the hands of the few, wrung, too, from the brawn of industry, without even rendering any equivalent whatever for the mammoth fortunes and glittering wealth so amassed. Hence, the immediate abolition of the old system, that the new, more safe, cheap and just banking and monetary system may bless, instead of curse, the toiling, suffering masses.

After making so important a subject our chief study and close observation for years, we venture on the new plan about to be introduced in this work, claiming that simplicity and feasibility both suggest a sure and lasting remedy within easy reach of modern statesmanship, devoted to popular government. In the distribution of the product of labor, and the more equitable distribution of wealth, money doubtless becomes one of the most potent factors of civilization known to man, in which instance perfection and suitable control are necessary guarantees that never have or ever can emanate from the aggrandized individual or chartered corporation. Hence the

long-felt necessity of federal control under the most approved plan affecting general welfare, that the masses may enjoy that blessing hitherto denied them through the present imperfect banking and monetary system.

For convenience, the great and powerful agencies of transmission and distribution should be united in a manner, bringing the services of each agency into close proximity with the people. This done, the people of each community would alike benefit by all the advantages to be derived from banking, the use of the mail, postal-telegraph and telephone. In the establishment of popular government, the people could delegate to the federal government, full control of banking, the mail, as now, the telegraph and telephone, as they should be. This done, it would then become necessary for the federal government to provide suitable buildings at convenient places in which to transact banking in connection with the post-office, telegraph and telephone business. Probably the most convenient, safe and suitable plan, would be for the federal government to erect a fire-proof building in each commercial center and city ward. Said buildings to be suitably arranged for the different branches of business, that each department might be presided over by an efficient officer, chosen by the people's representatives

or by ballot, as the best interests of all concerned might suggest. Of course, suitable help, such as clerks, could easily be provided for; also, for the consolidation of all the departments into one, or have them conducted under one or more officials in such localities where the banking business, mail, telegraph and telephone would not justify the employment of an official and clerks in each of the separate departments, as above outlined. This, however, could be suitably arranged, so as to render such an institution beneficial to each and every locality so favored.

“Where will the federal government obtain money with which to supply these banking departments and the people?” inquire the victims of the old system. Well, under popular government the people have a right to declare what system shall or shall not be, in which declaration of power such a government could create money out of paper, make the same a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, issue the same direct to the people through these fiscal agencies, and control the volume of such a money on the *per capita* plan. This being the case, it is but natural to presume that such a government would create as large a volume of paper money as the legislative wisdom of the people’s representatives might suggest. “Say \$50 or \$60” *per capita*,

which rate, estimating our present population at sixty millions of people, would provide a circulating medium equal to \$3,000,000,000, at \$50, and a volume of \$3,600,000,000, at \$60 *per capita*. At first, so large a *per capita* volume as the latter may seem wild and visionary, but when we more soberly reflect upon the enormous interest that is now being paid for the use of money in consequence of its scarcity, then add to this imposition the enormous profits that naturally arise out of our present very dangerous and truly alarming credit system, then add to these oppressive burdens our present recorded interest-bearing indebtedness, that exceeds \$21,000,000,000, every dollar of which is a matter of record and traceable, being composed of judgments, bonds and interest-bearing mortgages, the reader will soon become reconciled to the fact, overdrawn as the picture may at first seem to be, that such a volume is altogether too inadequate for the restoration of a perfect monetary equilibrium necessary for the eradication of our present system of indebtedness, usury and credit.

However true this may seem to the writer, and untrue to the reader, yet if we reflect for a moment on the prosperity of this country that followed the period of our late civil war, ushered in, too, through the plentiful use of paper money, the specter of surprise will vanish at

once. In September, 1865, according to the report of the secretary of the treasury, \$1,996,679,730 circulated among 35,000,000 people. This report shows, beyond doubt or contradiction, that we were then blessed with a circulating medium that exceeded \$54 *per capita*; and the history of that period further shows that our nation developed more wealth during that period than any period of our national existence.

Again, we would respectfully refer the reader to that unequalled period of prosperity that favored France following the declaration of peace immediately after the late Franco-Prussian war, in the year 1871, when the French republic issued a volume of paper money so large that it increased her circulating medium beyond \$56 *per capita*. Great and rapid was not only the production of wealth to that wise nation, but stability to her government and prosperity to her people followed.

With such a system and volume of money as herein proposed, it would be an easy matter to furnish each locality with a *per capita* volume of money with which to transact the business of that community. All loans thus made should be limited to not exceed one year at the farthest. The money then loaned by the federal government direct to the people would flow back into each respective depository once a year.

“If under popular government, such a banking system became established, what per cent would the borrower be compelled to pay?” inquire the victims of individual banking. Well, that would depend altogether upon the system of taxation necessary to raise a revenue sufficient to defray the expenses of popular government. If the property of the people were taxed to raise the necessary revenue, it would be unnecessary to loan the money at interest. If not so raised, then it would become necessary to charge a small per cent for the use of said money; “say one per cent per annum,” which on a loan of \$3,600,000,000 would bring in a revenue of \$36,000,000 a year. But in either event money would be uniform throughout the nation; while under the present system, money is being loaned in the eastern states at 3 per cent per annum, and in the western states at ten and twelve per cent, leaving it only a question of time, under the present system, when the eastern capitalists will absorb and own the entire west. This is very wrong, and could not exist under federal control.

“What security could the people who borrow, give the government to secure loans?” queries the victim of individual banking. Why, the same security exacted by the bankers of to-day, — approved security, securing all loans with real estate. Money loaned by the

government to the people at one per cent per annum, or without interest at all, would compel the capitalists to invest their large fortunes in one enterprise or the other. Under such a system, the capitalists who now thrive by loaning their money at high interest on real estate security, would be compelled to invest in business, relying upon profit instead of usury for the use and employment of their vast fortunes, or go unrewarded. Such investments would naturally enough create an extra demand for labor. Labor so employed would produce great wealth, and receive better wages with which to purchase much more of the fruits of industry. The toiling masses would not only receive full compensation for their labor, but full value for the products of the field, the factory, and the shop; much of the value of which under the present system becomes absorbed and swallowed up through bankruptcy, loss of deposit, high interest, and exorbitant profits, that as a natural consequence grow out of our present very dangerous vacillating credit system.

Money so loaned by the federal government, with or without interest, direct to the people, would be the means of completely revolutionizing our present commercial system. Money would become plenty, and more adequate to the demands of labor; usury would vanish, credit would disappear, debts unpaid would be

paid, every branch of business would be conducted on a cash basis, money would seek new enterprises and open new avenues to business, and employ labor to carry them on. Wealth would then be produced on every hand, new inventions, new discoveries and comforts of life, now unknown to our present civilization, would spring into existence ; labor, under constant demand and employment, would receive more money and surround herself with more of these comforts and necessities of life. The price of real estate would double and treble the present value, the increase of the value of which would place the federal government beyond the danger of loss, and afford the people ample facilities with which to secure loans ; while those whose estates are now encumbered with judgments and mortgage indebtedness could pay off the same through this very enhancement, and be again permitted to enjoy those honors that, without this change, must and surely will soon go towards enriching the money-bags and usury-favored aristocrats who have been, and daily are, fattening at the expense of impoverished industry.

Favored by such a system, the people who work hard for their earnings would no longer be subject to periodical panics or loss through bankruptcy. The depositor would be perfectly safe, and would be at perfect ease with his

money, however little or great in quantity, when placed on deposit with the federal government, knowing that the entire nation would first be subject to bankruptcy before the depositor would meet with loss. Yet how many millions of poor, hard-working, dependent people have been shamefully robbed and made poor and dependent by the present nefarious system, when their money was placed on deposit in the various banks of this and other countries; and how many of these ruined, disheartened, despondent people have fallen victims, sought self-destruction, and have fallen prey to madness and untimely graves?

Interest being the vicious parent of usury and credit, and both the enemy of labor, how can those born heirs-apparent to the implements of industry ever hope to escape from bondage so long as they support the old system of their enslavement that so firmly binds each and every one of them?

Under federal control, as herein outlined, the merchant would sell for cash at a less profit, and the purchaser would be at liberty to buy in any market, and of whatever merchant, without feeling obligated, or suffering from the present humiliation so characteristic of the credit system, everywhere. Men and women would then become independent instead of dependent; and there is nothing more to be

feared, nor is there any thing more degrading to our institutions of liberty or civilization, than dependency. Dependency alone has humbled the pride of many a noble nation. It is the dross of oligarchy and the sure decay of a proud civilization. Usury and credit done away with, labor would then enjoy that large per cent of profit absorbed by the merchant on the one hand and the banker on the other. Under the present system money is too scarce and wages too low ; interest too high and security too scarce ; the profit on goods too much, and uncollected accounts too numerous ; the credit system too great and the means of payment too limited ; the value of farm land too low and interest-bearing mortgages too numerous ; capital too rich and labor too poor ; all of which tends to oppress the masses, block the wheels of progress, multiply crime, compromise liberty, and render a more noble civilization impossible ; a deplorable condition that the burdened, over-taxed farmer cries out against ; that the over-worked and under-paid mechanic cries out against ; that the wage-worker cries out against ; men, women, tramps and legilsated vagabondage cries out against ; that if not speedily removed from our midst will soon breed greater discontent, and liken the civilization of America to the idleness, suffering, misery and degradation of the more despotic nations of Europe.

And there remains but one method of escape, and that must come through an increased means of payment to the debtor class, which is oppressed labor; for the demoralized condition of all branches of American industry is fast assuming the alarming features of anarchy. Then, if these financial and industrial embarrassments are not removed by some such method as herein proposed, what may we not expect in the near future? The landlord of to-day must become the tenant of to-morrow; the mechanic and wage-worker, the beggar; as the transfer of ownership must swiftly follow under the present very bad banking and monetary system. Humble the pride of such an industry and all other branches of labor will quickly follow in that awful wake, that has never failed to endanger society, and add to vice and crime.

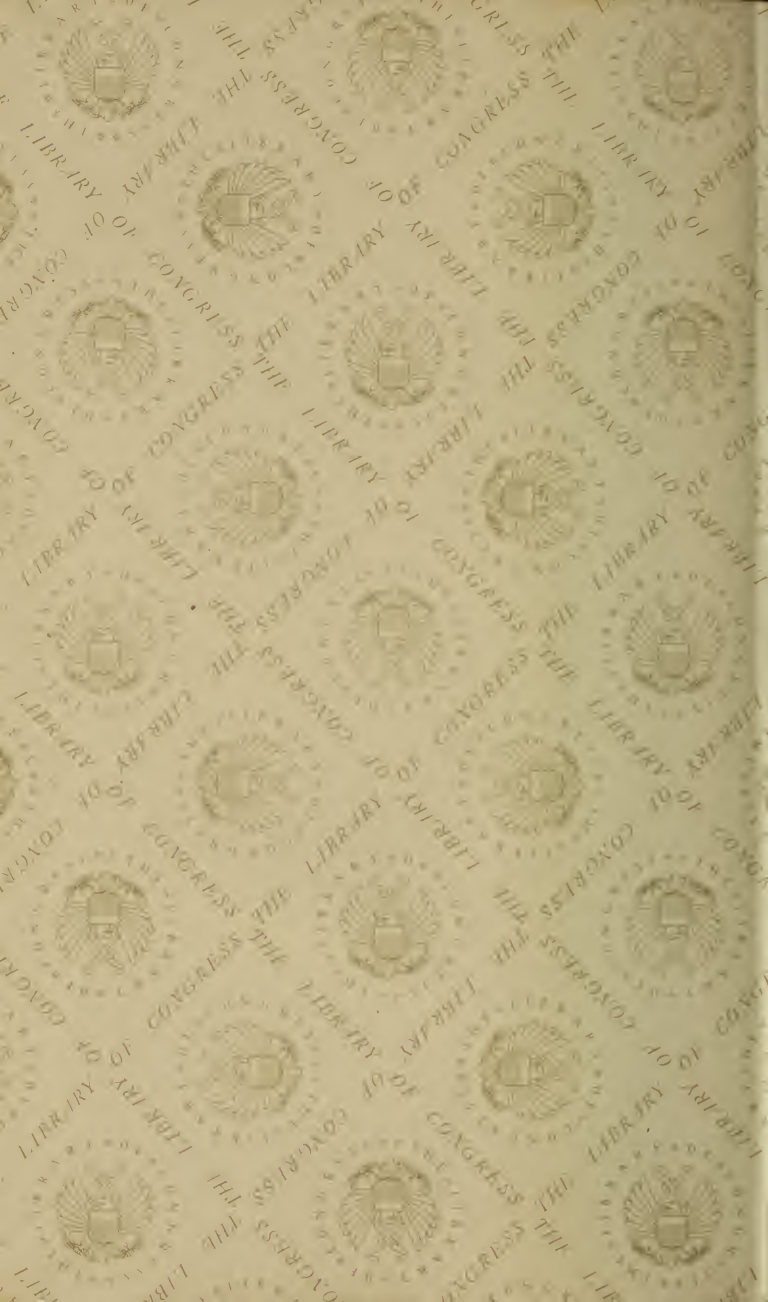
This brings us to the mail, postal-telegraph and telephone systems, that, of right, belong to federal instead of individual or corporate control, and which forms a part of this chapter. The government having the same right to legislate on the use of the telegraph and telephone that it has upon all questions and systems affecting the general welfare of the people, of course, brings the subject of the postal-telegraph and telephone under review; the telegraph and telephone being patentable discov-

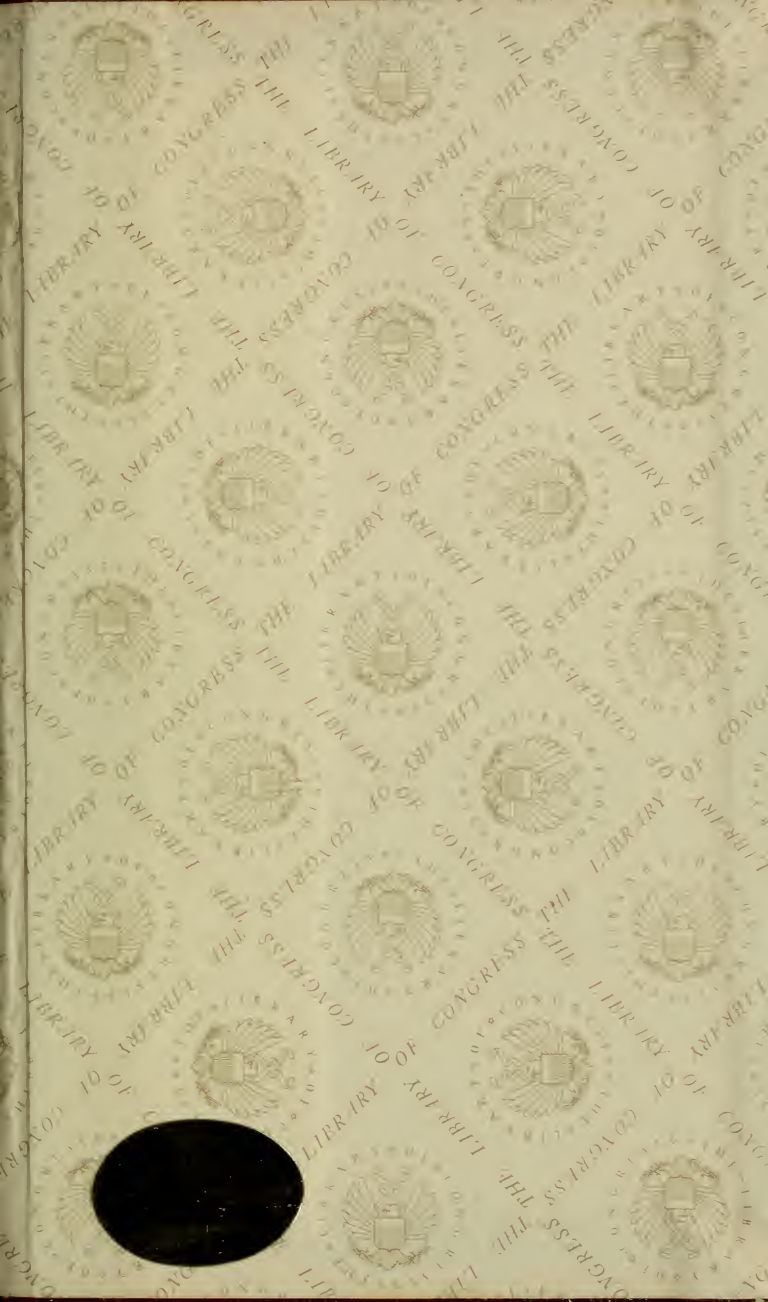
eries, each subject to become public property by act of statutory limitation, so far as the discovery is concerned. But, rather than put the government to the expense of erecting new lines and subjecting the present owners to so great a loss, it would be far better for all concerned that the government purchase the lines already constructed by the various corporations, at actual cost of construction, since the present owners would be only too anxious to sell when brought into competition with the federal government, that would operate said or competing lines at cost of operation, on the same plan of conducting our present mail system, that furnishes so many lucrative places for a large number of deserving men and women. The location of post-offices in every community, commercial center and city ward, in conjunction with banking, the telegraph and telephone, would so facilitate every branch of business dependent upon the agencies of transmission and distribution, that trade would no longer languish or commerce fall a prey to lockouts, strikes or mob violence. By such a system, the people of each locality would be alike benefited and reap alike reward. Favored by loans of money, with or without interest, the uniformity of which, in connection with safe deposit, convenient exchange, transmission of intelligence by the mail, the telegraph and

telephone, would so revolutionize trade and commerce and excite the genius of discovery, that improvements, art, science and literature, wealth universal, before unknown and unheard-of, quickened by the stimulated touch of ambition, would spring into existence to bless those who are now the slaves of misfortune, made possible through the corrupt control of these otherwise great human benefactors, not safely entrusted to any power less just or general than federal government.



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